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THOMAS OF ERCELDOUNE

edited,

with an Introduction, Notes, and a Glossary,

by

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PREFACE

This thesis has been written in accordance with the terms of the Gatty Memorial Scholarship, awarded for the purpose of 'advanced study or research in Scottish language and literature, with special reference to the dialects on both sides of the Border.'

In printing the manuscripts in parallel columns I have followed Murray's order; but in Fyttes II and III, where Murray prints MS Cotton along the foot of each page, it seemed more convenient to leave MS Cotton in the position it occupied in Fytte I, and to place MS Sloane on the page immediately following the other manuscripts. All the manuscripts have been examined, and the two most important, MS Thornton and MS Cambridge, described in some detail. A full list of contents of the latter has been given, as this manuscript has not been catalogued for a considerable time. For the contents of MS Thornton the reader is referred to Madden's Syr Gawayne, and Halliwell's Thornton Romances. In the chapter on the Phonology and Accidence of the manuscripts, very little has been said of MS Lansdowne, and nothing of MS Sloane, since these are both so late that they do not show any clear-cut dialect features.

I wish to thank the following, to whom I am greatly indebted: Dr O.K. Schram, my official Supervisor, for his unfailing encouragement and advice; Dr James Craigie, for his ungrudging expenditure of time and trouble in locating Sandyford; Canon J.H. Srawley, for

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I. N.

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I

INTRODUCTION

ANALYSIS OF THE ROMANCE

Summary of the Narrative

The story, which begins in the first person and changes to the third at l. 73, returning to the first only in l. 276, recounts how Thomas of Erceldoune walked on Huntley Banks bis Endres daye, on a May morning. While lying under a semely dern cumly tree, he notices a lady gaye come riding over the lea on a dapple-grey palfray. She is dressed as a huntress, with arrows at her belt, a horn round her neck, and a leash of greyhounds and seven ratchets running beside her. Her saddle and harness are richly decorated with precious stones, and three bells hang on either side of her bridle. Thomas takes her for the Virgin, and addresses her as Qwene of heuene. But the lady answers that she is of anoper countree, and is abroad hunting. Thomas then begs for her love, which she is unwilling to grant, saying that such a sin will ruin her beauty. Thomas persists, and pledges her his troth, whethir pou will in heuene or helle, whereupon she consents. This results in her transformation into a hideous hag. Lans. here has an interpolation (ll. 141-156) in which Thomas takes her for the Devil, and invokes the Trinity; she tells him that he has brought this upon her, and reminds him of his pledge. She bids him take leave of sun and moon, and accompany her for this twelmoneth. Thomas, bitterly regretting his deed (l. 166), ejaculates a prayer committing his soul to Christ and the Virgin.¹ The lady leads him in at Eildon Hill, and they journey for three days /

¹ Ll. 163-4. Burnham takes this as a plea addressed to the lady. But it is obviously a prayer to the Virgin, - cf. Mylde qwene of heuene T 164, To mary mylde he made his mone Ca. 162.

days in darkness, knee-deep in water, and surrounded by the roar of the sea. They then come to a faire herbere. Thomas, faint with hunger, attempts to pick the fruit, but the lady orders him to let it be: if he plucks it his soul will go to hell till doomsday. She then commands him to lay his head on her knee, and she will show him

be fayreste syghte

bat euer sawe mane of thi contree 195-6.

She then shows him four ways: the way to heaven, over a high mountain (T), a fair plain (Co., Lans.); the way to paradise, which lies bynethe zone rysse; the way to Purgatory, over a plain (T, Ca.), below a mountain (Lans.); and the way to hell, which lies through a deep dell (T), over a fell (Ca.). She then shows him a fair castle on a hill, in which she and the king live. She warns him to speak to no one there but her, and she will account for his silence by saying she took his speech byzonde the see (T) lee (Ca.,) at elden tree (Lans.). The lady's beauty then returns. Lans. here has an interpolation (ll. 237-248), in which Thomas asks the lady the reason for her former change, and is told it was to keep the knowledge of her fault from her lord, bat is king of this contre. They then take their way to the castle, in which there is great revel. Thomas dwells there for some time, until the lady informs him that the time has come for him to return. He protests, saying he has been there only three days, but is told that he has been there three years and more (Ca. seuen), and that he is to leave in order to escape the Devil, who is coming the /

the next day to fetch his fee, and would be sure to choose Thomas, who is mekill mane and hende. The lady takes him back to Huntley Banks, where she bids him farewell, with a cryptic remark about her falcon. This is the end of Fytte I. At the beginning of Fytte II Thomas begs her for a token, and she gives him the gift of the tongue that will never lie. In reply to a request to be told some ferly, she then begins the series of prophecies which forms the major part of this and the following fytte. She makes many attempts to depart, but is detained by Thomas, whose thirst for knowledge is inexhaustible. Finally she bursts into tears at the thought of the miseries which will overtake the people. She then takes her leave of Thomas, with a promise to meet him at Huntley Banks, if bat I may, and departs for Helmsdale, leaving Thomas alone at Eildon Tree.

Sources /

Sources and Parallels: Fytte I

The following tales and romances resemble Thomas in their general plots :

The tale of Meilyr. Giraldus Cambrensis Itinerarium I 5. Meilyr loves a beautiful woman of supernatural character.

"Desideratis amplexibus atque deliciis cum indulsisset, statim, loco puellae formosae, formam quamdam villosam, hispidam et hirsutam, adeoque enormiter deformem invenit, quod in ipso eiusdem aspectu dementire coepit et insanire." Meilyr remains mad for many years, and constantly associates with spirits, whom he often sees as hunters, with horns hanging at their necks, "et vere venatores non ferarum tamen nec animalium sed animarum." He is also endowed with the gifts of prophecy, and of detecting lies in men or in books.

The tale of Elidurus. Giraldus Cambrensis Itin. I 8. A priest named Elidurus, when a boy, was taken by the fairies to their land, by way of a subterranean passage whose entrance was in a river bank. The passage, which was very dark, led into a beautiful country, which was, however, always cloudy, and had neither sun nor moon (Compare Thomas 1. 157). He was banished from fairyland for the theft of a golden ball, and never returned. This story differs from Thomas in describing the fairies as of small stature.

The Lai of Guingamor, by Marie de France. Guingamor, while hunting in a forest on the other side of a river, encounters a maiden, who takes him to a castle, where he spends two days.

On /

On the third day he wishes to leave, and is then told he has been there three hundred years. He is warned to eat and drink nothing after he has crossed the river, but he eats three apples from a tree. He ages in an instant, and falls in a swoon. Two damsels appear, and take him back across the river to the castle.

Ogier le Danois. (13th cent.) Ogier, when an old man, is wrecked while on a voyage, near Avalon. He comes to an orchard, where he eats an apple, from which he becomes mortally ill. A beautiful woman appears, whom he takes for the Virgin, but who is in fact Morgan la Faye. She leads him to the castle of Avalon, where he lives in happiness for two hundred years, which seem but twenty to him. He then returns to earth, as Christendom is in danger, but is eventually brought back by Morgan to Avalon.

Orfeo and Heurodis (early 14th cent.). King Orfeo's queen, Heurodis, is stolen by the fairies while sleeping in an orchard, under "a fair ympe tre". Orfeo, in despair, retreats to the woods and wilderness. Here he often sees

"Pe king o Fairi wip his rout
Com to hunt him al about,
Wip dun, cri and bloweing,
And houndes also wip him berking."

One day he recognizes Heurodis among the hunters, and follows them. They ride in at a rock, and after a subterranean journey of several miles, emerge into a beautiful country, in the /

the middle of which stands a fair castle. Here Orfeo finds his wife, and wins her back from the king.

Als y yod on a Mounday. (14th cent.) A poem of 252 lines, in ballad metre. The poet meets a little man, richly dressed, and of supernatural strength, who invites him to his dwelling. The poet accompanies him reluctantly, and is brought, after a trying journey, to a castle, where lords and ladies are feasting and singing. The poem here breaks off abruptly, and begins again with a tale told on a Wednesday by a "mody barn". Then follows a series of prophecies on the Scottish wars, in question and answer form.

The Awntyres of Arthure at the Terne Wathelyn. (14th cent.) Arthur's court sets out from Carlisle to hunt. Gawane and Gaynoure rest "vndir a lorrere". A violent storm arises, and the ghost of Gaynoure's mother appears to them, "blake to the bane", with eyes glowing like coals. She tells them she is in Purgatory for her love-sins, and proceeds to prophesy Arthur's death, and the preceding wars. She then leaves them. The rest of the romance has no bearing on Thomas. Not only the plot, but the language also, has a close resemblance to Thomas. Compare Awnt.Arth. 74-5, Thomas 171; Awnt.Arth. 266-7, Thomas 453-6; and the descriptions of the ghost, and the lady after her transformation:

"... nowther one hede ne one hare hillynge it hade 107

Hir eghne ware holkede full holle 115

Bare was hir body and blake to the bane" 104 Awnt.Arth.

Hir /

Hir hare it hange all ouer hir hede

Hir eghne semede owte pat are were gray 131-2

hir a schanke blake hir oper graye

And all hir body lyke the lede 135-6 Thomas

The resemblance here in plot, language, and dialect is so strong that there can be little doubt that the author of Thomas knew and used Awnt. Arthure.

The Turke and Gowin. (14th cent.?) A Turk appears at Arthur's court, and challenges the company, in the same manner as the Green Knight. Gawain accepts the challenge, and accompanies the turk. There follows a description of a subterranean journey, very similar to that in Thomas: they enter into a hill, and the journey is made in darkness, thunder, and rain. At this point the MS is torn. When the story resumes, the turk is apparently telling Gawain to speak to no one but him, in almost the same words as Thomas' lady:

"..... noe answere

But only unto me." 75-6

They then take their way to a castle. The rest of the romance has no resemblance to Thomas.

The majority of these parallels to Thomas are of Celtic origin: the tales of Meilyr and Elidurus are Welsh, Guingamor and Orfeo are Breton lais, Ogier le Danois, The Awntyres of Arthure, and The Turke and Gowin are Arthurian romances. No one of these can be singled out as the source of Thomas: Meilyr has the fairy mistress, the transformation, and the gifts of prophecy and /

and truthfulness. Guingamor has abduction by a fairy, the fairy castle, the supernatural lapse of time, and the forbidden fruit. Ogier has the forbidden fruit, the fairy mistaken for the Virgin, the castle, and the supernatural lapse of time. Orfeo has the abduction while under a tree, the subterranean journey and the castle. Als y yod has abduction by a supernatural being, a fairy castle, and prophecies. Awnt. Arthure has the rest under a tree, the supernatural being in loathsome form, and the prophecies. The Turke and Gowin has the supernatural being, the subterranean journey, the command of silence, and the castle. It will be seen that while all these contain some of the elements of Thomas, none of them contains all. It is very probable that the author of Thomas knew some, if not all, of these romances. But it is not necessary to assume that all the Celtic folk-lore elements in Thomas were drawn from these and similar works. There may have existed a local Berwickshire tradition concerning Thomas of Erceldoune; the details of such a tradition, being located in Scotland, would be drawn from Celtic folk-lore. The author may very likely have used some such legend for the basis of the romance.

Analysis of Narrative: Folk-lore Elements.

The May-morning walk. Ll.25-32. The conventional opening to a dream- or vision-poem. Cf. Piers Plowman:

"... on a May Mornynge on Malverne hilles

Me byfel a ferly, of fairy me thougte." 5-6.

Le Roman de la Rose and Chaucer's Boke of the Duchesse begin with a dream of a May morning walk. Chaucer's dream in the Legend of Good Women /

Women takes place on a May evening.

There may be an additional reason for choosing May in this romance: it was a month in which the fairies were particularly active. According to Scottish folk-lore they held their first dance of the year on Rood Even (May 2nd).¹ It was "in pe comessing of May" that Heurodis was stolen by the elf king.

Resting under a tree. Ll. 33-4. This was apt to result in events of a supernatural kind. Heurodis is stolen away while sleeping under "a fair ympe tre" (Orfeo 70). Gawain and Gaynoure are resting "vndir a lorrere" when the ghost appears (Awnt Arthure 69). In the ballad Tam Lin, the elf appears to Janet when she touches a rose-tree. In Sir Cawline, the knight is to wait for the Eldridge King by a thorn tree.

The Lady. Ll. 35-72. In her appearance, the lady resembles the Celtic fairies, the Tuatha Dé Danann of Ireland. Like these, she is of mortal height, rides a richly harnessed horse, and is accompanied by greyhounds.² The fairy women in the tale of Edric Wild (Map: De Nugis Curialium II 12) is also of mortal height. For the lady's general appearance, compare that of Le Nain Fee in the prose romance Huon of Bordeaux (completed 1454; based on an earlier verse-romance); "Le Nain Fee s'en vint chevauchant par le bois, et estoit vestu d'une robe si tres belle et riche, que merveilles sera ce racompter pour la grand et merveilleuse richesse que dessus estoit, car tant y avoit de pierres precieuses que la grand clarte qu'elles jettoient /

¹ Cf. Spence: British Fairy Origins p.170-171.

² Ibid. p.145.

jettoient estoit pareille au soleil quant il luit bien clair. Et avec ce portoit un moult bel arc en son poing, tant riche que on ne le sauroit estimer tant estoit beau. Et la fleche qu'il portoit estoit de telle sorte et maniere, qu'il n'estoit beste au monde qu'il vousist souhaiter qu'a icelle fleche elle ne s'arrestast. Il avoit a son cou un riche cor, lequel estoit pendu a deux riches attaches de fin or."¹ Hunting was a favourite occupation of the "fair folk". Wimberley suggests that the blowing of the horn (l. 56) may have been a form of enchantment. Mortals are enchanted by fairy horns in the ballads The Elfin Knight, Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight, Hynd Etin, and Alison Gross. In Sir Cawline the appearance of the Eldridge King is heralded by a "lightsome bugle".

The lady mistaken for the Virgin. Ll. 75-6. This incident occurs also in Ogier le Danois. Ogier mistakes Morgue la Faye for the Virgin on first seeing her, "une moult belle dame toute vestue de blanc, si bien et si richement aornee que c'estoit ung grant triumphe que de la veoir."² There seems to be no parallel to this incident in any other romance, and it is probable that the author of Thomas knew and used Ogier.

The fairy mistress. There are many parallels to this in Celtic folklore and romances. Walter Map (De Nugis II 12) tells how one, Eddric Wild, took an elf-woman to wife. Meilyr (Giraldus Camb. Itin. I 5) had a fairy mistress. Chrestien de Troyes recounts the story of King Meliadus, who was carried off by a fairy. A similar fate befell Ogier, and Guingamor. Fairy mistresses are found /

1. As quoted by Keightley: Fairy Mythology p.40.

2. Ibid. p.47.

found in the Lais of Lanval and of Graelent. Chaucer's Sir Thopas sets out to seek an elf-queen:

"An Elf-queene wol I love y-wis,
For in this world no womman is
Worthy to be my make."

The transformation. Ll. 129-136, 233-236. A common convention in reverse. In the usual version, as found in The Wife of Bath's Tale, The Wedding of Gawain, and the ballad of King Henry, the fairy woman is hideous to begin with, and is only restored to her true beauty by the love of a mortal; the essential point being the test involved of the man's chivalry and "gentillesse". There is only one parallel to the change from beauty to foulness; Giraldus Cambrensis' tale of Meilyr; Here an elf-woman becomes hideously ugly after granting her love to a mortal. The reason for the change in Thomas is obscure, but there seem to be two ideas involved: (a) a punishment on the lady, not for her infidelity, but for giving her love to a mortal. (Lans.11. 151-2). (b) a test of Thomas' pledge to follow her either to heaven or hell. (ll. 107-8). When he has fulfilled his pledge her beauty is restored. The latter reason is the more probable, as the former does not account satisfactorily for the recovery of her beauty.

The supernatural journey. Ll. 169-176. There are many parallels to this in folk-tales and romances. One of the earliest is the journey of Hadding, related by Saxo Grammaticus. He accompanies a supernatural woman on an underground way through a dark mist, and over water, finally reaching a sunny region. It is /

is folk-lore convention that travellers to the land of spirits or elves must cross some sort of water barrier, a relic, according to Wimberley, of the Germanic water-hell. It is also reminiscent of the Styx of the classical underworld. In the Lai of Lanval the lover is taken to an island, and in the Lai of Graelent the mortal is taken across a broad river. In Giraldus Cambrensis' story of Elidurus, the way to fairyland is by way of a dark underground passage. Parallels in the romances are: Orfeo and Heurodis (ll. 347-351).

'In at a roche þe leuedis rideþ,
And he after, and nougt abideþ.
When he was in þe/roche ygo
Wele þre mile oper mo,
He com into a fair cuntray ..'

and The Turke and Gowin (ll. 66-71).

'He led sir Gawaine to a hill soe plaine
The earth opened & closed againe,
The Gawaine was adread.
The merke was comen & the light is gone,
Thundering, lightning, snow & raine
Thereof enough they had.'

The faire herbere. Ll. 177-192. Compare the orchard in Ogier le Danois: 'tant bel et tant plaisant que cestoit ung petit paradis a veoir.' 'It appears likely that Thomas has combined the idea of an oversea land of bliss with that of a subterranean paradise' (Wimberlëy). But we may note that there is no indication that the herbere is underground, and, though it /

it is not explicitly stated, it is to be presumed that Thomas and the lady have emerged from the subterranean passage, as do the travellers in similar stories, - cf. the tale of Elidurus (Girald.Camb.Itin. I 8). A description of a somewhat similar earthly paradise is given in the Danish ballad Ribold og Guldborg.

The prohibition against eating the fruit does not necessarily indicate the Forbidden Tree, as has been suggested; the prohibition against food is common for travellers to and from fairyland. Cf. Saxo Grammaticus, the voyage of Gorm to the land of the giants, where the crew are forbidden to touch food.¹ Ogier eats an apple from the orchard, and becomes mortally ill; Guingamor, in the Lai of that name, eats three apples from a tree after his return from fairyland, and falls in a swoon. There is no indication in Thomas that the fruit he attempted to pick was an apple. In the original folk-tale from which the romance is probably drawn, the penalty of eating the fruit may have been, not banishment to hell until doomsday, but death (as in many folk-tales) or a perpetual sojourn in fairyland. The four ways. Ll. 193-216. 'The arbor or garden, being common to Paradise and to faery, might serve to attract Christian material into a fairy-tale, or vice versa.' (Burnham). This passage is not as incongruous as it may appear at first sight. It has been hinted at earlier in the fytte, when Thomas promises the lady to follow her either to heaven or to hell. In addition /

1. 'For if they partook of that food they would lose recollection of all things.' (Saxo Gram.viii). The prohibition against food occurs also in The Turke and Gowin ll.86-88.

addition, it serves a purpose in locating the site of fairyland. For the connection of hills with heaven and hell (l. 202 T, Ca., l. 214 Ca.), compare the ballad The Daemon Lover:

"O what hills are yon, yon pleasant hills,
That the sun shines sweetly on?'
'O yon are the hills of heaven' he said,
'Where you will never win.'
'O whaten a mountain is yon' she said,
'All so dreary wi' frost and snow?'
'O yon is the mountain of hell' he cried,
'Where you and I will go.'"

The castle. Ll. 217-220. A fairy castle occurs in Ogier le Danois, the Lai of Guingamor, Orfeo and Heurodis, Als y yod, and The Turke and Gowin.

The command of silence. L. 225-232. This prohibition is common in folk-lore; speech with the fairies was very dangerous.¹ In Huon of Bordeaux, the hero is warned that he will die if he addresses Oberon. (Cf. also The Merry Wives of Windsor V 5 : 'They are fairies, he who speaks to them shall die.') A similar command appears to have been given in The Turke and Gowin. Ll. 249-250 Lans. For the character of the elf-king, cf. the ballad Sir Cawline, 'A furyous king and a fell.'

Fairy revelry. Ll. 253-272. Compare Ogier le Danois: 'Et quand Morgue approcha du dit chasteau, les Faes vindrent au devant dogier, chantant le plus melodieusement quon scauroit Jamais ouir, si entra dedans la salle pour se deduire totalement. Adonc vist plusieurs dames Faes aournees et toutes courronnees de /

1. Spence: British Fairy Origins p.24.

de couronnes tressomptueusement faictes, et moult riches, et tout jour chantoient, dansoient, et mennoient vie tresjoyeuse.'

Cf. also Orfeo and Heurodis:

'Kniztes and levedis com daunceing,
In queynt atire gisely,
With queynte pas and softely,
Tabours and trumpes zede hem bi,
And al maner menstraci.' ll. 298-302.

Supernatural lapse of time. Ll. 283-286. Cf. Ogier, in which two hundred years seem only twenty; and the Lai of Guingamor, where three hundred years seem only three days.

The teind to hell. Ll. 289-292. The fairies paid teind, or *7 hain* kane, to hell at fixed intervals, usually three or seven years. Cf. Tam Lin.

The falcon. Ll. 301-304. These lines are obscure. Murray does not attempt to explain them. Brandl takes them as a prophecy. While the prophecy theory is tenable (see Notes on the Text), there is this difficulty, that the lady speaks these lines before Thomas' request to be told some ferly, and without connection with the lines immediately preceding and following. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that Sir John Mandeville, in his Travels, tells a tale in which a fairy woman, her sparrowhawk, and a granted wish all figure: in 'little Ermenye' lies the castle of the Sparrowhawk, in which is a hawk guarded by a 'fair lady of Fayrye'. 'And who þat wil take þat Sparhawk vij dayes and vij nyghtes ... withouten companye and withouten sleep, þat faire lady schal zeuen him whan he hath don the /

don the first wyssch þat he wil wyssche of erthely thinges.' The story goes on to relate how a King of Ermonye, when asked what he wished, replied that 'he wolde wisshen non oper thing but the body of þat faire lady to haue it at his wille,' and how he was punished for his presumption. (Ch. XVII).

The gift of truth. Ll.317-318. Cf. the story of Meilyr, in which the hero is given the power to detect lying in others. Ll.688-689 T, and 688-692 Co. appear to be the charm by which the lady grants Thomas the gift of truth-telling, which in this case probably means the power of prophecy.

Sources /

Sources and Parallels: Fyttes II and III

Two MSS of the 14th cent. contain versions of a brief prophecy attributed to Thomas Rymour: MS Harl. 2253 (before 1320), and MS Arundel 57 (1340). MS Harl. is written in a Southern or South Midland dialect, and MS Arundel was written in Kent, though it contains traces of its Northern origin. These MSS prove that the fame of Thomas had spread to southern England as early as twenty years after his death. Some version of this prophecy was known to the writer of the romance, as l. 651 in Thomas is a quotation of l. 15 MS Harl., and l. 7 MS Arundel. Apart from this line, the writer has made no use of this early prophecy.

MS Harl. 2253 f. 127¹:

La countesse de Donbar demanda a Thomas de Essedoune quant la
guere descocce prendreit fyn. e yl respoundy e dyt,
When man as made akyng of a capped man;
When mon is leuere opermones pyng þen is owen;
When londyonys forest, ant forest ys felde;
When hares kendles oþe herston;
When Wyt & Wille werres togedere;
When mon makes stables of kyrkes, and steles castles wyþ styres;
When rokesbourh nys no burgh ant market is at Forwyleye;
When þe alde is gan ant þe newe is come þat don noþt
When bambourne is donged Wyp dedemen;
When men ledes men in ropes to buyen & to sellen;
When a quarter of whaty whete is chaunged for a colt of ten
markes;

When /

1. Cf. Murray: Thomas of Erceldoune p. xviii.

When prude prikes & pees is leyd in prisoun;
When a scot ne may hym hude ase hare in forme pat þe
englysshe ne sal hym fynde;
When rypt ant Wrong ascentþ to gedere;
When laddes weddeþ louedis;
When scottes flen so faste þat for faute of ship hy
drownep hem selue;
Whenne shal þis be? Nouper in þine tyme ne in myne;
ah comen & gon wib inne twenty wynter ant on.

MS Arundel 57 f. 8:

Thomas de Erseldoune, Escot et dysur, dit au rey Alisandre les paroles desuthdites, du rey Edward ke ore est, kaunt yl fust a nestre.

To nyzt is boren a barn in Kaerneruam,
 Pat ssal wold be out ydlis ylc an.
 Pe kyng Alisandre acsede,
 Hwan sal pat be? Pe menstral zede,
 Hwan Banockesbourne is y-det myd manniss boniss;
 Hwan hares kendlep in hertp-stanes;
 Hwan laddes weuddep leuedes;
 Hwan me ledep men to selle wytp rapiss;
 Hwan Rokysburtp is no burp;

Hwan men gyven an folu of twenti pound for an seme of hwete.
Three other 14th century poems containing prophecies were
probably known to the author of Thomas:

The Bridlington Prophecies (c. 1370), quoted in Langtoft's Chronicle, (cf. Wright: Political Poems and Songs I). The commentary on these contains a reference to the battle of Duplin /

Duplin Moor, and its proximity to a place known as Gladeleye, which may have inspired the prophecy of Gladismore in Thomas, and particularly Ca. 1.561, (see Notes on the Prophecies). Animal symbolism is also used extensively in the Bridlington prophecies, but this is found as early as Geoffrey of Monmouth's Book of Merlin.

Als y yod on a Mounday. A ballad on the Scottish wars. The resemblance here is very strong, (see Sources and Parallels: Fytte I). The poet is carried off, against his will, by a little man of an uncanny kind; after a journey, he is taken to a fine hall. Here, at 1.73, the poet breaks off abruptly from this subject, and begins:

'Lithe bothe yonge and alde,
Of a worde ii wil you saye,
Ay litel tale that me was told,
Erli on ay wedenesdaye.' ¹

He then proceeds to recount the prophecies told him by a 'mody barn' as they 'went bi waye'. There is no further mention of the original little man, or of the hall, and it looks very much as if the ballad has been composed by joining together two separate poems, the second beginning at 1.73. Like Thomas, the poet asks, in the second part, concerning the wars:

'Miri man, that es so wythe,
Of ay thinge gif me answere,
For him that mensked man wyt mith,
Wat sal worth of this were?

And /

1. Ritson: Ancient Songs and Poems.

And eke our folke, hou sal thai fare,

That at ere bi-northern nou?

Sal thai have any contre thare?

Other wether hande sal have the prou?' 81-88.

Compare Thomas 343-346:

'Telle me of this gentill blode,

Wha sall thrife and wha sall thee,

Wha sall be kyng, wha sall be none,

And wha sall welde this northe countre?'

Compare also the vague but ominous prophecies:

'A tyme bifor the Trinite,

Thare sal deye, on ay day,

A folke on feld ful fa sal flee.' Als y yod 102-104.

'fforryours furthe sall flee,

On a Sonondaye byfore þe messee,

Seuene thowsandes sothely sall be slayne' Thomas 529-531.

The symbols of the Tup and the Bear are reminiscent of the Falcon and the Raven in Thomas. The form of question and answer is also similar:

'Miri man, ii the beseke,

Of a tything telle me mar' Als y yod 181-2.

'Now lufly lady (gud and gay),

Telle me zitt of some ferly.' Thomas 339-340

The author of Thomas did not necessarily take the form from this poem; it is found in the Latin Prophecies of Merlin Ambrosius (1155).

The /

The Awntyrs of Arthure. A romance in Northern dialect, probably contemporary with Thomas. It contains prophecies made by a supernatural being, - in this case, the ghost of Gaynour's mother, returned from Purgatory to relate her misery and prophesy Arthur's death. There are several strong points of resemblance with Thomas, in language, plot (see narrative analysis), and in the prophecies. Compare:

'When he es in his mageste hegheste and maste es of myghte,
He sall lighte full lawe appone the see sandis' Awnt.Arth.
267-8.

'And whene he es mane moste of Mayne
And hopis beste pane for to spede,
On a ley lande sall he be slayne,
Be syde a waye for owttyn drede.' Thomas 453-6 (T).

There are other parallels in language, and the resemblance generally is so close that there can be very little doubt that the author of Thomas knew The Awntyrs of Arthure.

Evidence /

Evidence for an Earlier Form of the Romance

The most obvious evidence for the existence of an earlier form of the romance is the statement of the poet that his work is based on an earlier poem, whose authority he twice quotes:

Gyff it be als the storye sayes 83 T

And als the storye tellis full ryghte 123 T

But this alone cannot be taken as conclusive evidence, since such appeals to an earlier authority are a common convention in the romances; cf. 'The romaunse tellys soo' 1203 The Erl of Toulous, 'als the buke tellis' 2 Awnt. Arthure, 'And certaynly, as the story sayes' 1113 S.L.D., 'In romaunce as we rede' 2448 Amis & Amil. On the other hand, the statement should not be too hastily dismissed, without an investigation of the supporting evidence.

Several discrepancies and omissions in the romance indicate that it is a redaction of an older poem. The most important of these is the change of person in Fytte I. It opens in the first person, but changes to the third at 1.73; except for a return to the first in 1.276, the rest of the narrative is told in the third person. Child (Ballads I) takes this as conclusive evidence of an older romance told entirely in the first person. Brandl considers that the change is a deliberate device of the author's, to confuse the reader or hearer, and induce a bewildered frame of mind receptive of the prophecies. He cites Adam Davy's Dream, where a similar change occurs. This theory is very far-fetched; the mediaeval hearer would be quite ready to credit the prophecies without any previous confusing of his mind. The change /

change in the Dream, which is a very pedestrian composition, does not occur during the narrative, but at the end of the poem, and is the poet's formal declaration of authorship. But in Thomas the change occurs in the actual narrative, and this, though occasionally confused and corrupted, is on a much higher literary level than the Dream. It is therefore improbable that the change is due to the author's carelessness, and equally improbable that he would deliberately mar his artistic effect by the use of such a clumsy device as Brandl suggests. Burnham's conjecture is the most probable; that the romance is a redaction of one in the first person, and that it has been changed to the third in order to draw attention to the name of Thomas. The change back to the first person at l.276 is inexplicable unless we suppose that the writer of the version from which all the MSS ultimately derive was copying from a MS in the first person and altering it to the third as he wrote.

There are several points in Fytte I which suggest that it may be a shortened and compressed form of an original, longer romance. The style of the narrative as a whole is that of a ballad rather than a romance, i.e. the tempo is fast, and the poet makes his effects with a few vivid words, rather than with lengthy descriptions; cf. the description of the lady's metamorphosis, of the supernatural journey, and of the final parting. The story here moves with great speed. But Fytte I contains two long descriptive passages, of the 'list' kind, which are different in form from the rest of the narrative. The first, ll.49-64, contains a list of precious stones: roelle, crapotee /

crapotee, berelle, crystalle, perelle, irale, orphare. The second, 11.177-184, a list of fruits and birds: pere, appill, date, damasee, fygge, wyneberye; nyghtgales, papeioyes, throstills (cf. also 11.29-31: jaye, throstyll cokke, Mawys, wodewale). These elaborate descriptions are a common feature of the romances, but are at variance with the economy of words practised elsewhere in this poem. The impression given is that this is a shortened and simplified form of a more elaborate version, and that the passages mentioned above have been retained unaltered from the earlier work.

This impression is heightened by a curious omission: the lady's palfray and its trappings are minutely described, but no description is given of the lady herself, apart from the facts that her hair is hanging loose, she has a horn round her neck, and arrows tucked under her belt. Twelve lines are devoted to the trappings, only three to her personal appearance. Ca. has one line of description (1.68), which appears to be a later addition (see Notes on Text). There must surely originally have been an account of her beauty; there is possibly a reference to the missing passage in 11.132-134;

Hir eghne semede owte bat are were graye,

And alle be riche clothyng was awaye

Pat he byfore sawe in bat stede.

There are several minor discrepancies and difficulties which may be due to the cutting of some passages: the double change of appearance is not sufficiently explained. L.104 and 11. 151-152 (in Lans. only) imply that the transformation is a punishment /

punishment on the lady for her sin. But she is apparently able to recover her beauty at will (cf. ll.233-236, and 237-252 in Lans. only). The incident may have been more clearly explained in the original version. There is also a time discrepancy. It is stated in l.25 that the events to be related took place his Endres daye; in l.159 the lady informs Thomas that he is to go with her this twelmoneth; and he remains in elf-land thre (Ca. seuen) zere & more (l.286). The point is of no great importance, except in as far as it shows that the poem is in a corrupt state. This is also indicated by the many variations in the MSS, which are discussed in the notes on the text; they show that already in the 15th century, when T, Ca., and Co. were written, the romance had wandered some way from its original form.

Child (Ballads I) holds that the original romance consisted of Fytte I only, and that Fyttes II and III are later additions. This theory, with which I agree, accounts for the traces of cutting and compression which appear in Fytte I. To turn a leisurely and elaborate romance into one fytte of a poem in three fytes would necessitate a certain amount of shortening and omission in order to attain proportion. Even as it is, Fytte I makes up nearly half the romance. Murray and Brandl, on the other hand, believe the prophecies to be a part of the original poem. 'Some of the prophecies may be later than others, but I think that, as a whole, they flow so naturally from the tale, as a response to Thomas' request for a token of his intercourse with the lady, without any trace of patching
or /

or awkward joining, as to preclude the suspicion of having been afterwards tacked on. As to their style, they could not well, from their nature, be rendered so lively or interesting as the ballad, yet the introduction to them, as well as their conclusion and the parting of Thomas and the Queen, seem not inferior in execution to any part of Fy^ett/I. On the other hand, it must be granted that, artistically considered, the tale of Thomas and the Lady is far too long and minute to have been invented as a mere introduction to the prophecies, and I willingly admit that the story, perhaps even in a poetic dress, may have existed some time before it was caught up and told anew as an introduction and passport to the predictions.' (Murray p.xxvi).

We have other examples of prophecies by supernatural beings in Als y yod and Awnt. Arthure (cf. Sources and Parallels: Fyttes II and III). In the story of Meilyr (Giraldus Cambr. Itin.I 5) prophetic power is given to a mortal as a result of his association with spirits. There is a parallel also in the Danish ballad Havfruen's Spaadom, where a captured mermaid prophesies to the Queen of Denmark. These examples show that there was a recognised convention associating prophecy with supernatural beings. In addition, MSS of the early 14th century prove that Thomas was renowned as a prophet as early as 1320; a romance written around him would therefore be certain to include prophecies, or some mention of his prophetic power.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that the prophecies are not of the same literary level as Fytte I; they are verbose /

verbose and monotonous, with many repetitions. Only at the end, in the description of the parting, is the former level reached, as Murray has observed. Moreover, the prophecies were almost certainly composed at different times, by different writers: some are written from the Scottish point of view, most from the English (see notes on the prophecies, and Introduction: Place of Origin). The prophecy of the battle of Otterburn, in Fytte II, cannot be earlier than 1388, while Barbour, whose Bruce was completed by 1378, apparently refers to the bastard prophecy in Fytte III (see section on Date and Authorship).

The prophecies may therefore be taken to be a later addition, though the original version may have contained a few prophetic passages, as in Awnt. Arthure. The removal of the majority of the prophecies would give a better proportion to the romance. As it stands, Fytte I is too long merely as an introduction to the prophecies, and the prophecies are too long merely as an incident of the narrative. I am prepared to go further, and suggest that the romance, in its original form, may have contained none of the prophecies. Ll.321-672 can be omitted without any interruption to the flow of the verse and narrative. This version then concludes with the return to Eildon Tree; the request for a gift; the bestowal, by means of a charm, of the power of truth-telling, i.e. prophesying; and the final parting. We may note how smoothly the narrative runs like this:

If /

If þou will spill or talys telle 317
 Thomas þou shal neuer make lye,
 Wner so euer þou gos, be frith or felle,
 I pray þe, speke neuer no ille of me. 320
 þen Thomas a sory man was he, 673
 þe terys ran out of his eenen gray,
 lufly lady, 3et (tell þou) me
 If we shall parte for euer and ay? 676

This reconstruction is strengthened by the fact that T and Co. contain (ll.687-692) what appears to be a magic formula conferring on Thomas the gift of truth: this follows much more naturally only sixteen lines after the gift is proffered, than after 369 intervening lines of prophecy.

To sum up: the probability is that the romance proper (i.e. ll.25-320, 673-700) originally existed separately. The evidence for this is

(a) the traces in Fytte I of an earlier and more elaborate form of the romance.

(b) The change of person from first to third, and the references to an earlier story.

(c) The evidence that the prophecies were added at different times.

(d) The smooth continuance of the poem when the prophecies are omitted, and the significance, otherwise entirely lost, given to ll.687-692 when placed closely following ll.311-317.

DATE AND AUTHORSHIPThomas of Erceldoune

The existence of Thomas of Erceldoune is established by two charters of the 13th century:

(a) 'Thome Rymor de Ercildune' is witness to an undated deed by which Petrus de Haga de Bemersyde agrees to pay half a stone of wax yearly to the convent of Melrose. According to Murray, Petrus de Haga himself witnessed a charter of Richard de Moreville which is not later than 1189; 'it thus defines Thomas' age to the extent of showing that he was a contemporary of one who was himself at least old enough to witness a document in 1189.' But it is doubtful if the Moreville charter is later than 1166.¹ A man old enough to witness a document before 1166 could hardly be the grantor of the charter to which Thomas, who died c. 1294 (see below) was a witness. The grantor of the Melrose charter is the Petrus de Haga who lived c. 1240-1280², the third to bear the name Petrus. There is a reference in the charter to 'Johanne filio et herede meo'. This Petrus de Haga was succeeded by John de Haga, who swore realty to Edward I in 1296.³ The charter therefore may be as late as 1280, and is of no assistance in determining Thomas' age.

(b) By a charter dated November 2nd 1294, 'Thomas de Ercildoun filius et heres Thomae Rymour de Ercildoun' conveys all his lands in Ercildoun to the Trinity House of Soltra.

This /

1 Cf. J. Russell: The Haigs of Bemerside

2 Cf. Russell; and Ward: Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum (vol.I), - Harley 2253.

3 Cf. Russell p.76.

This implies that Thomas Rymour was dead, and his lands had passed to his son. Murray, however, suggests that he had retired to a monastery, probably the Faile, a priory of the Cluniacs near Ayr, his basis for this theory being that Henry the Minstrel, in his Wallace, mentions him as living in 1296, at the time of Wallace's rescue from prison at Ayr:

Thomas Rimour in to the Faile was than,
With the mynstir, quhilk was a worthi man;
 He wsyt offt to that religious place.

Henry, however, was writing sixty years after the event, when the exact date of Thomas' death may have been forgotten. It is also quite possible that he might extend Thomas' life by a few years for artistic purposes. The incident he is describing is so obviously one which calls for a prophecy, and if Thomas in his lifetime had been accustomed to frequent the Faile, it would be a temptation to make him present on this momentous occasion. There is a third possibility: that Thomas' son resigned his lands in 1294 in order to retire to a monastery, perhaps the Faile. If this was so, Henry the Minstrel, writing two generations later, might have confused him with his father, Thomas Rymour. There is therefore no reliable evidence that Thomas was alive in 1296, and it is probable that he was dead by the time of the charter of 1294. If he had been alive at this time the charter would surely have made some mention of the fact.

According to the Scotichronicon of Fordun, as continued by Bower (c. 1430), Thomas was alive in 1286, when he predicted the /

the death of Alexander III to the Earl of Dunbar (see Appendix III). There is no reason to doubt the story, and in fact it has an authentic ring: if it was fictional one would expect the author to attribute to Thomas a more detailed and sensational prophecy. The death of Thomas may therefore be taken to have occurred between the years 1286 and 1294.

In both charters his name is given as Thomas Rymour, or Rymor. As his son's name in the 1294 charter is given as Thomas de Ercildoun, it is generally accepted that the name Rymour was given to Thomas alone, on account of his poetic abilities. On the other hand, Murray points out that Rymour was a recognized surname in Berwickshire, 'one John Rymour, a freeholder, having done homage to Edward I in 1296.' The N.E.D. gives no instance of rymer = 'poet' earlier than 1420. In all the earlier references to him he is called Thomas of Erceldoune, as in the romance; Henry the Minstrel alone refers to him as Thomas Rimour. Not much significance can therefore be attached to this name.

There is no evidence for the surname Learmonth or Leirmont given to him by later writers. It does not appear until the 16th century, in Lesley's De Gestis Scotorum (1578) (see Appendix III); as it does not occur in the charters, or in any of the earlier writers, it is probably pure invention.

Authorship /

Authorship of Sir Tristrem

Sir Walter Scott, in his edition of Sir Tristrem, assumed Thomas to be the author of this romance, basing his theory on the references to him contained in it:

I was at Erpeldoun
 Wiþ tomas spak y þare
 þer herd y rede in roune
 Who tristrem gat & bare
 Who was king wiþ croun
 & who him fosterd 3are
 & who was bold baroun
 As þair elders ware
 bi 3ere
 tomas telles in toun
 þis auentours as þai ware. (St. 1)

The authority of 'Thomas' is again claimed in stanzas 38 and 45. Mannyng of Brunne also, in his English Chronicle (c. 1330), apparently accepts Thomas of Erceldoune as the author of Sir Tristrem:

I see in song in sedgeyng tale
 of Erceldoun & of Kendale,
 Non þam says as þai þam wroght,
 & in þer sayng it semes noht;
 þat may þou here in sir Tristrem,
 ouer gestes it has þe steem,
 Ouer alle þat is or was,
 if mene it sayd as made Thomas.

Opinion has changed since Scott's time, and it is now generally considered that Thomas had no connection with Sir Tristrem; the evidence against it is that versions of the romance were in existence before Thomas' lifetime, - it is mentioned by Chrestien de Troyes; and that the earlier German version quotes as its authority one, Thomas of Brittany, who may be the 'Thomas' mentioned by Mannyng, and in the romance itself.

On the other hand, both Mannyng and the writer of the romance believe Thomas of Erceldoune to be the author, and they were both his contemporaries; their evidence cannot be so lightly dismissed. Moreover, Garnett states that the romance is a southernized copy of an older Northumbrian romance, written probably between 1260 and 1300. It was therefore written during Thomas' lifetime, and in his locality. The fact that the romance existed before the 13th century is no evidence: neither the romance nor Mannyng say that Thomas composed the story, but merely that he wrote a version of it. The fact that a Thomas of Brittany was connected with the earlier forms of the romance does not prove that Thomas of Erceldoune did not write the English version. It will be seen that, while there is no definite proof of Thomas' authorship, it must be regarded as a possibility, and not dismissed entirely.

The whole question of authorship is very fully discussed by McNeill in his edition of Sir Tristrem;¹ he concludes by saying: 'Robert Mannyng records and represents the belief of the /

1 G.P. McNeill: Sir Tristrem (Scottish Text Soc. 1886).

'the age in which Thomas of Erceldoune lived, and in which the romance of Sir Tristrem was composed. Such a belief is far more likely to be in harmony with the truth than the theories of a later day. Broadly viewed, the question of the authorship of the poem is one which, from the nature of the evidence, must be answered in accordance rather with reasonable probability than with absolute demonstration; and the reasonable probability is, that Robert Mannyng of Brunne was right when he ascribed the poem to Thomas of Erceldoune.'

Dialect /

Dialect and Date

(For a detailed analysis of the dialect of the romance, see the section on the Phonology of the MSS).

The romance was written originally in Nth. dialect of the 14th century, in the Nth-East rather than the Nth-West. This dialect is preserved in the rhymes, and in the language of MS Thornton, the oldest and least corrupt of the MSS (see Phonology of MS Thornton). There are no distinctively Scottish features apart from the word spraye (n.) from Gael. spreidh 'booty' (see Notes on the Text).

There is nothing in Fytte I to indicate the date of the romance. It owes something to the Northern romance The Awntyres of Arthure (see Sources and Parallels: Fytte I), but the date of the latter is itself uncertain. The phonology throughout is of the late 14th century, and this is borne out by the internal evidence in Fyttes II and III.

The latest identifiable prophecy (ll. 477-484) relates to the battle of Otterburn, 1388. This part of the romance, then, is not earlier than 1388. The authenticity of the prophecies as a part of the original romance is uncertain, and Fytte I may be earlier than this date. But the prophecy proves that the work, in its present form, was completed after 1388. Brandl, who reads the prophecy of the Bastard in Fytte III as a eulogy of Henry IV, dates the romance even later, at about 1400, but his theory is weak, and has little evidence to support it. The lines on Thomas in Barbour's Bruce,

I hop Thomas prophecy
 off Hersildoune sall verway be
 In him; for swa our lord help me,
 I haiff gret hop he sall be king,
 And haif this land all in leding.

sound very like a reference to the Bastard prophecy,-

Alle men leder of bretan shall he be 612 Ca.

If this is accepted, it dates at least this prophecy as early as 1378, when Bruce was completed, and disposes finally of Brandl's theory; it also proves that the prophecies were not all written at the same time.

Place /

Place of Origin

The question of whether the romance originated in Scotland or in England cannot be definitely answered. Murray appears to assume that the author is a Scot (see p. lxix); Brandl is inclined to consider him an Englishman. There is no external evidence, as the romance is not mentioned by any other contemporary writer. We must therefore rely on internal evidence, and here a difficulty presents itself: all the internal evidence, with the exception of that provided by the phonology and the prologue to MS Thornton, is contained in Fyttes II and III; and there is reason to doubt whether the prophetic passages were a part of the romance in its original form. A discussion of the question must therefore be preceded by this caution: that any conclusions drawn from the evidence in Fyttes II and III can be applied to those fyttes only.

Internal Evidence in Fyttes II and III. All the identifiable places named throughout the romance, with the exception of Sandyford, are in Scotland: Huntley Banks 28, Eildon Hill 80, and Erceldoune 308 etc., (Berwickshire); Falkirk 360 (Stirlingshire); Bannockburn 379 (Stirling); Kinghorn 401 (Fife); Duplin Moor 403, and Scone 425 (Stirling); Pentland and Edinburgh 509, Redhall 510 (Midlothian); Seton 526, Berwick (i.e. North B.) 528, and Gladsmor 561 (East Lothian); Sandyford 624 (Northumberland); Helmsdale 695 (Sutherland). Holtely 376 Ca., and Spyncard Clough 496, have not been identified.

Not much weight can be attached to the fact that the sites are in Scotland, as far as Fytte II is concerned, since all the battles prophesied are historical. The writer therefore cannot show his patriotism by his selection of battle-grounds, and of the victorious side, but must confine it to the treatment of his theme. Several of the prophecies in this fytte show an English bias, especially the lament for the Balliols and their faction ll.326-336, and the description of the battle of Bannockburn ll.377-388, (see notes on the prophecies). The English viewpoint is also expressed in ll.473-4, describing the atrocities committed by the Scottish invaders in England. One or two passages show a Scottish bias: the prophecy of the battle of Neville's Cross, or Durham, ll.433-444, where the lines on David II reveal the bitterness of the defeated Scots,

He shall throwgt a fals fode

Be betrayde of his owne lond 441-2 Lans.

and the passage (ll.445-456) predicting the downfall of the raven, who is fighting on the side of the English (cf. ll.451-2).

The prophecies in Fytte III are not historical. They are as follows:

(a) The battle of spyncarde clough. English versus Scots. All MSS except Ca. give the victory to the English.

(b) The battle of Pentland Hill. An English victory over the Scots.

(c) The battle of Seton. The English versus an unnamed enemy (Co. names them as the French, S as the Scots). The result /

result is indecisive.

(d) The battle of Gladismore. The English versus an unnamed enemy, presumably the same as in (c). There is great carnage, but the result is again indecisive.

(e) The prophecy of the bastard. An English prophecy, - cf. l.620

And al ledes bretayns sal be (Co.)

And bothe londes bretten shalbe (Lans.)

Ca. and S also agree on bretans; T is missing. A Scottish prophecy would scarcely predict that Scotland should come under English rule, which is what the line implies (cf. the use of bretans for 'English' throughout, and bretane for 'England' l.392).

(f) The battle of Sandyford. The combatants are not named, nor is the result, except that there will be great slaughter, and that it will be the last battle. Sandyford is the only English place-name which occurs: it is a locality by a small stream in Northumberland, close to Flodden Hill (see notes on the prophecies).

(g) The prophecy concerning Agnes of Dunbar. An English prophecy (see notes on the prophecies).

It will be seen that throughout Fytte III the interest is centred on the English, and the prophecies are written from the English point of view. The Scots are not even mentioned in the battles of Seton, Gladismore, and Sandyford.

The word spraye, from Gael. spreidh 'booty', occurs three times /

times, twice in Fytte II and once in Fytte III. It is found elsewhere only in Scottish literature, and then rarely; the earliest instance is in Wyntoun's Chronicle, c. 1425 (see Notes on the Text, 1.354). This is strong evidence of a Scottish origin. But two points must be considered:

(a) While the only recorded instances of its use occur in Scottish works, the word may have penetrated as far south as the Borders. The form in which it is found in the romance - spraye - is without parallel; the forms recorded are spreith and spreicht; such a corrupt form might arise on the Borders, especially on the English side, where Gaelic would be unknown.

(b) The word occurs only in the prophecies, and, as has been stated, these are not all the work of one writer. It is possible that the writer who assembled them found the word in a Scottish prophecy, and took over the whole formula for use in some of the other prophecies he was adapting. This theory is supported by the close similarity of the stanzas in all three cases, where the word is used, in T, the least corrupt of the MSS:

The Bretons blode sall vndir fete
 be Bruyse blode sall wyne pe spraye
 Sex thowsande ynglysche wele pou wete
 Sall there be slayne pat jlk daye 353-356.

beBretons blode sall vndir falle
 The Bryusse blode sall wyne pe spraye
 Sex thowsand ynglysche grete & smalee
 Sall there be slane pat jlk a daye 385-388.

The /

The bretons blode schalle vndir falle
 The bruyse blode schalle wyne be spraye
 Sex thowsande ynglysche grete & smalle
 Salle thare be slayne pat nyghte & daye 497-500.

In all three the Scots win the victory, with the slaughter of six thousand Englishmen, and in each case the wording is almost identical.

The use of the word, therefore, while it implies some connection with Scotland, is not evidence that the whole romance is of Scottish origin.

Internal /

Internal Evidence in Fytte I

The dialect of the whole romance is Nth. English, and the rhymes prove that this was the original dialect. In addition, typically Nth. words occur, e.g. swylke 46, mekill 291, skylle 288. There are no distinctively Scottish words in Fytte I.

The prologue to T, which appears to be contemporary with the rest of the romance, is English (cf. ll. 13-14, 23-24). But it must have been written after the prophecies were added, cf. ll. 15-17, and Fytte I may antedate it. Moreover, it is found in one MS only. The evidence contained in it of the author's nationality is therefore not of great value as concerns the authorship of Fytte I.

All the elements of the narrative are drawn from Celtic folk-lore. This does not necessarily indicate a Scottish origin, since Celtic folk-lore was known in England through the translations of Breton lais (cf. Sources and Parallels: Fytte I). The subject of the poem - Thomas of Erceldoune - was a Scot, and the scene is laid in Scotland. But the fame of Thomas had spread throughout England in the early 14th century, as is proved by the prophecy in MS Arundel, written in 1340, as far south as Kent.

To sum up, the following conclusions can be drawn:

(a) Fytte I may have originated either in Scotland or in England. The dialect weighs the balance slightly in favour of the latter.

(b) The prophecies in Fyttes II and III are not an original /

original part of the romance, but have been added at different times. The majority are English, but some express the Scottish point of view.

(c) The complete romance as it stands (i.e. including the prophecies and the prologue to T) is English in viewpoint and dialect. The North of England is indicated by the dialect; the prophecy of Sandyford, which shows knowledge of an obscure locality in Northumberland, suggests that the poem in its final form may have been completed in that county.

II

THE MANUSCRIPTS

MS Thornton A 5. 2.

The MS consists of 314 paper folios, measuring 290 x 215 mm. It is incomplete at beginning and end; fragments of seven leaves, measuring one or two inches from the binding, remain at the end of the volume. Leaves are missing at the following places: between ff. 18/19, 19/20, 102/103, 122/123, 133/134, 222/223 (one or more), 236/237 (four or more), 253/254. Fr. 268, 269, 270, are single leaves, the inner edges appearing in the binding between ff. 261/262. Ff. 124 and 142 have been transposed. Ff. 108, 122, 153 have been torn out, leaving only fragments.

Binding

The MS was rebound in 1832 at the expense of Sir Frederick Madden, to whom it was on loan, and who also prefixed to it a list of the contents, drawn up by himself. Prior to this date the MS was bound "in thick oaken boards, covered with white leather, and fastened by a clasp, but in so decayed a state, and the leaves in such loose disorder, as to make it absolutely necessary, for the sake of preserving it from destruction, to have it rebound."¹ It was probably during the rebinding that ff. 124 and 142 were transposed.

Gatherings

The gatherings are difficult to determine, as most of the /

1. Syr Gawayne, ed. Madden.

the signatures have been worn away, being in the lower outer corner of the leaf. The following arrangement can, however, be accepted with some degree of certainty:

Gathering C: ff. 43-54. 6 signatures, 4 complete.

Gathering D: 55-66. 5 incomplete signatures.

Ff. 67, 68. See below.

Gathering E: 69-86. 7 signatures, 4 complete.

Gathering F: 87-102. 1 complete signature.

Gathering G: 103-122. 1 incomplete signature. Leaf missing at each end.

Gathering H: 123-143. No signatures. One leaf missing.

Gathering K: 166-177. 1 complete signature.

F. 178 is a single leaf stuck in.

Gathering L: 178-198. 9 signatures, 4 complete.

Gathering M: 199-222. 10 signatures, 4 complete.

Gathering N: 223-236. 6 incomplete signatures.

Leaves missing at each end.

Gathering O: 237-252. 5 signatures, 4 complete.

Gathering P: 253-280. 1 incomplete signature. 3 single leaves, ff. 268-270.

Gathering Q: 281-314. 2 incomplete signatures. It cannot be determined whether or not the missing folios at the end belonged to this gathering, but as the sewing occurs between ff. 210/211, it seems probable that the gathering consists of 34 folios.

Gathering I can be assumed to consist of 22 folios,

144-165 (marked k). The sewing here is of no help in confirming this, as it occurs in three places: between ff. 152/153, 157/158, 162/163.

F. 166 is signed k iij, but it can be seen quite clearly that the gathering begins with this folio. This is confirmed by the sewing which occurs between ff. 171/172.

Folios 1-42 (gatherings A and B) contain no signatures. There is sewing between ff. 30/31, which indicates that gathering B consists of 24 folios, beginning at f.19.

Ff. 67 and 68 belong neither to D nor to E. They appear to be two single leaves stuck in.

Murray states that the first article in the MS, the Life of Alexander the Great, was probably originally a separate MS. But gathering C, which begins at f. 43, extends to f.54, which is the second leaf of the second article, Morte Arthure. It is, however, possible that ff. 53 and 54 were originally blank leaves at the end of the MS., as ff. 49b-52b appear to have been.

Watermarks

The MS contains nine different watermarks of which six are given by Briquet. They are as follows:

- (1) Dolphin and Fleur-de-lys. (Briquet 5895). Ff. 76
77 80 87 88 91 95-97 99 100 123-127 130 132
133 137 138 145 148 180 184 185 187 188 191
194-196 198 202 206-208 211 212 216-218 220 263
264.
- (2) Hammer and Cross. (Briquet 11632). Ff. 106 107 109
120 121 238-240 243 244 247 248 252.
- (3) Two-wheeled Wagon. (Briquet 3528). Ff. 113 114 254
255 257 259 261 262 268 272 274 276 279.
- (4) /

- (4) Bull's Head surmounted by Star. (Briquet 15103). F 115.
- (5) Catherine Wheel. (Briquet 13268). Ff 269 270.
- (6) Letter A surmounted by Cross. (Briquet 7903, 7904).
Ff 286 298-308 310-314.

The unidentified watermarks are as follows:

- (1) Crossed (?) Swords, or (?) Scissors. Very faint.
Ff 1 3 13 15 45 49 178. This mark is found throughout the first article in the MS, the Life of Alexander the Great (ff. 1-49), which Murray considers to be in an earlier hand than the bulk of the MS; and in one other leaf only - f. 178, which is a half-sheet stuck in between gatherings K and L.
- (2) Goat's or Ram's Head, with eyes, and wide downward-curving horns. Not in Briquet. Ff. 56-59 61
66-69 72 73 81 84 85 150 151 158 160 161 163.
- (3) Goat or Bull, whole animal, side view. Not in Briquet.
Ff. 170 172 174.

Several of the gatherings contain more than one watermark, gathering G, for example, contains the Hammer and Cross, the Wagon, and the Bull's Head and Star.

From the identified watermarks the MS can be dated, according to Briquet's system, within the period 1419-1450.

Handwriting

The majority of the articles in the MS are written in the same hand, which varies considerably according to the care taken, the ink and pen used, and so on.

Ff 1-49 are stated by Murray to be in an older hand, as distinction is made between p and y, whereas in the other articles y is written for the letter p, with the exception of Sir Perceval of Galles, which, says Murray, is also in a different hand. Murray does not mention that the Liber de Diversis Medicinis, the last article in the volume, also observes /



observes this distinction. In the charms for the toothache (f. 176a) which follow immediately after Sir Perceval of Galles, p is used in some cases, and y in others. They appear to be in the same hand as the bulk of the MS.

The weather prognostications which appear on f. 50 a, b, are written in a later hand, "apparently temp. Henry VIII".¹

Lamentacio Peccatoris (ff. 51b, 52a) is also written in a later hand than the bulk of the MS.^{1,2}

The hand in which most of the MS is written, and which is attributed to Robert Thornton (see below), is rather small, uncramped, and fairly neat, though some parts of the MS are carelessly or hastily written.

Ornamentation

There is not a great deal of ornamentation in this MS. Most of the articles contain red capitals, surrounded by foliage, birds, etc., lightly drawn in brown ink. On f. 93b, opposite a red capital R, is a drawing of a bird within a scroll on which is written 'Robart Thornton'. The first article in the MS, the prose Life of Alexander, has spaces measuring circa 1½" x 2" left for illuminations. Only one of these has been filled in, on f. 6a. F. 23b contains a red capital A, within which is drawn a barrel with a bush growing from it. Miss Everett, in "Some Notes on the Identity of Robert Thornton",³ suggests that this is a rebus on the name of the writer.

Several /

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1. J.O. Halliwell: The Thornton Romances. (Camden Soc. 1844).
 2. Syr Gawayne ed. Madden.
 3. Unpublished. Cf The Liber de Diversis Medicinis ed. M.S. Ogden, (EETS 1938) p. ix.

Several of the articles, notably the religious articles in the second half of the volume, contain red paragraph marks. In the Life of Alexander a red stroke is set after the l in 'Alexander'. In Morte Arthure (ff. 53a-98b) the caesura in every line is marked in red as far as f. 69a, and on ff. 53a, b, 54a, the verses are linked by red lines. Titles and colophons are occasionally written in red.

Ornamentation in red, green, brown, and blue occurs on ff. 19a, b, 27a, 109a, and 154a.

F. 52b is covered with a number of rough sketches, apparently contemporary with the writing, of men in armour, and a riderless horse. One of the men bears on his shield three crowns, the arms of Wales; an interesting point, since Morte Arthure begins on the opposite page - f. 53a.

Marginalia

Apart from the signatures of various members of the Thornton family (see below), the marginalia are few, and of little interest. They consist of pious phrases, and idle scribbles. On f. 49b, in addition to the entries relating to the Thornton family, the alphabet has been written out. An alphabet in two different styles occurs on f. 277a.

The Writer

The writer of the majority of the articles in the MS is generally taken to be Robert Thornton, from the frequency with which this name, and the inscription: "R. Thornton dictus qui scrip/sit sit benedictus" occur. On f. 49b is the following note: "Isto die natus ffruit sancta ante domini nostri Ihesu christi Robertus Thornton in Ridayll anno domini Mccccliij." /

Mccccliij." This localizes the MS in the wapentake of Ryedale in the North Riding of Yorkshire; it is confirmed by the mention in the Liber de Diversis Medicinis of the Rector of Oswaldkirk, a parish in that wapentake. Taking these facts into consideration, there can be very little doubt that the writer was one of the Thorntons of East Newton, in the same wapentake. This was accepted in the 17th century by Thomas Comber, Dean of Durham, who compiled a X genealogy of the family. (See p.55). All the names written in the margins of the MS are to be found in this. The following names occur in the MS :

"R. Thornton dictus qui scripsit sit benedictus." Ff. 98b, 213a.

"Robart Thornton." F. 93b.

"Here endes Morte Arthure writen by Robert of Thornton." F. 98b.

"Thornton." ff. 53b, 129b, 211b.

"Thornton misereatur mei dei." F. 278b.

"Robertus Thornton." F. 49b (see above).

"Edward Thornton". (hand, acc. to Madden, temp. Henry VIII). Ff. 75b, 137a, 194a.

"Wylliam Thornton his Boke." F. 49b.

"Wyllm Thornton." F. 144b.

"Ellinor (Thornton)." F. 135b.

"Dorythy Thornton." Ff. 265a, 266a.

"Ion Rokeby." F. 220b.

"Robert louson." F. 29a.

"Roger /

that Robert Thornton and the Archdeacon of Bedford were the same person.

Date of MS

The identified watermarks place the date of writing of the MS within the period 1419-1450, but as the MS contains three unidentified watermarks, this can be accepted only as a rough guide. The article beginning on f. 250b, A revelacyone schewed to ane holy womane now one late tyme, is an account of a vision seen on the Feast of St. Lawrence, 1422. The MS was therefore completed after this date. Ogden says that it "seems to have been written before 1453-1454, the date given in the note recording the birth of Robert Thornton at Ryedale."¹ But there is no evidence that the MS was complete at the time of this entry. It is merely probable that the Morte Arthure had already been begun on f. 53a, leaving ff. 49b to 52b blank. The MS was however almost certainly complete before the death of Robert Thornton, which took place at some time between the years 1456, when his son was living at Thirkleby, and 1465, when his widow remarried. The MS was therefore written during the period 1422-1465.

History of the MS

The history of the MS is unknown. The names in the margins indicate that it was still in the possession of the Thornton family in the early 17th century. Ogden suggests that /

1. The Liber de Diversis Medicinis p. x.

that it passed out of the family's hands in 1692, when East Newton and its furnishings were sold.¹ There is no mention of it in the records of Lincoln Cathedral before the 19th century.

1. Liber de Diversis Medicinis p.xi note 5.

The Lincoln MS version of Thomas of Erceeldoune

This romance begins at f.149b, col. 1, and ends at f.153b, col.2. It is entitled "Tomas Off Ersseldoune", and is written in double columns, with c.37 lines to a column. For the first eight lines the alternate rhyming lines are linked on the right hand side by thin lines in the same ink. There is a large red capital at the beginning of the first line, and thereafter at the first line of each fitt. In ll.309, 314, 318, 325, the t of 'Thomas' is picked out in red ink.

The hand is that in which the bulk of the MS is written, and which is attributed to Robert Thornton. The ink is brown, the paper rather dark in colour. The writing is on the whole neat and even, except f. 151a col.2 to f.152b, where it is careless and straggling. There are very few erasures and corrections. Capital I is written on the line, and is indistinguishable from the minuscule j. Capital M is written as a minuscule with a tail - m. The scribe uses majuscules and minuscules indifferently at the beginnings of lines. There is no punctuation.

The usual abbreviations are used: p^t, p^u, p^s, op^r, eu), ou), w^t, for pat, pou, pis, oper, euer, ouer, with; Ihu for Ihesu; Thomas is generally written Thoms^a. n) has been taken to indicate a following n or e; that it is not a mere flourish, as in some MSS, is argued by the fact that it sometimes occurs in the middle of words, e.g. son)e, for sonne. ll is always written with a through-stroke, ~~ll~~, even /

even when followed by e. In the alphabet on f.277a 'l' is written with a through-stroke.

There is a watermark of a goat's head, (unidentified, not given in Briquet) in ff. 150, 151, 152.

Damage

F. 149b. The bottom outer corner of the leaf has been torn off, resulting in the loss of about four words from the last two lines, ll. 35, 36.

F. 150. Bottom outer corner torn off. On the recto side the lower halves of the last few words in the last line (l. 178) are missing, and on the verso the first two or three words of the last line, (l. 218).

F. 151. Bottom outer corner missing. Concluding words of the last four lines (ll. 336-339) are missing on the recto, and the last three lines (ll. 377-379) on the verso are incomplete.

F. 152. The lower half of the leaf is missing. On the recto, seven lines of col.1 are lost, and six lines (ll. 441-446) are incomplete, about fourteen lines of col.2 are lost, and four lines (ll. 475-478) incomplete. On the verso, about 11 lines of col.1 are lost, and three lines incomplete (ll. 512-514), and in col.2, four lines lost, and five lines (ll. 556-560) incomplete.

F. 153. The greater part of the leaf is missing. On the recto, only nineteen lines of col.1 are left more or less complete, and the first letters of nineteen further lines.

On /

On the verso, fifteen lines of col. 2 are left, (ll. 678-700) with the first words of every line missing.

The colophon is complete.

MS. Cambridge Ff 5 48

The MS consists of 131 paper quarto leaves, measuring 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ mm. x 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ mm. The leaves are numbered from 2 to 135; several are missing at the end of the MS, and possibly between ff. 130/131; ff. 1, 93, and 94 are also missing.

The MS generally is well preserved, except for those pages which have been subjected to chemicals. Ff. 2 - 5 are much frayed at the outer edges, and f. 115 is loose.

Ff. 115 - 135 (gatherings H and I) may originally have been a separate MS : the outer edges of the leaves are much cleaner than those of the rest of the MS. Ff. 67 - 78 and ff. 79 - (94) may also at one time have been separate : both are complete gatherings, and both have blank, or partly blank pages at the end.

There are no catchwords.

Gatherings

No traces of signatures are discernible, and the gatherings can be determined only by the sewing.

Gathering A : ff. 2 - 16. Sewing at 8/9. F. 1 missing.

Gathering B : ff. 17 - 32. Sewing at 24/25. Complete.

Gathering C : ff. 33 - 48. Sewing at 40/41. Complete.

Gathering D : ff. 49 - 66. Sewing at 57/58. Complete.

Gathering E : ff. 67 - 78. Sewing at 72/73. Complete.

Gathering F : ff. 79 - 94. Sewing at 86/87. Ff. 93, 94 missing.

Gathering G : ff. 95 - 114. Sewing at 104/105. Complete.

Gathering H : ff. 115 - 130. Sewing at 122/123. Complete.

Gathering I : ff. 131 - 135. Sewing at 133/134. Leaf missing at 130/131, and at end, probably more.

Watermarks

As the MS is in quarto, the watermarks appear in the centre of the back of the leaf, half on each conjugate leaf. They cannot therefore be identified. Watermarks appear on the following leaves:

Gathering A : 3 5 7 12 14.

B : 17 21 22 23 26 27 28 32.

C : 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44.

D : 50 51 54 55 60 61 64 65.

E : 67 68 71 74 77 78.

F : 80 81 83 86 87 90.

G : 96 99 100 103 104 105 106 109 110 113.

H : 116 117 119 122 123 126 128 129.

I : 131 132 135.

Handwriting

The major part of the MS is written in a small 15th century hand, often careless, hasty and sloping.

F. 66b (Prognostications), ff. 75b = 78b (Prognostications), and ff. 79a = 92b (Church festivals) are written in other hands.

A later hand has added marginal comments on the Principium Anglie (Art.20).

Ornamentation

There is very little ornamentation in this MS. Red is used for capitals, the initial letter in a line, and occasionally to indicate rhymes; it does not occur after f. 112a. Apart from these ornamental letters, all that occurs is to be found in ff. 2 - 10 :

F. 3a: two animals resembling rabbits are drawn in red and brown ink in the right-hand margin.

F. 5a : a bird is drawn in red and brown ink in the right-hand margin.

F. 6a : a dragon is drawn in the right-hand margin.

F. 9a : at the foot of the page is drawn elaborately a bull, framed in brown and red ink; underneath, a dog.

F. 9b : in the inner margin is drawn an unidentifiable animal.

F. 10b : at the foot of the page is drawn a lion and a bird.

F. 43a : the Passio (Art. 5) has an ornamental colophon in red and brown capitals, with an animal's head drawn to the right of the first letter.

The Principium (Art. 20) has spaces left for ornamental capitals on ff. 97b 98b 99ab 100b 101ab 102ab 103ab 104ab 105b 106ab 107b.

Marginalia

The marginalia , though fairly frequent, are not of great interest : they consist of personal memoranda, brief comments on the texts, and illegible scribbles. Some, on ff. 23a and 78b appear to have been rubbed out. The following are the more

legible :

F. 93b : a column of Roman numerals is written on this page, the greater part of which is blank.

F. 95a : 'Gogmagog' is written in the right-hand margin in a late, probably 17th century hand, opposite the same word (underlined) in the text.

F. 97b : 'Bath' is written in the right-hand margin, opposite a description of its foundation by King 'bladut'. The appropriate lines have been ticked.

F. 98a : 'Leir' is written in the right-hand margin, and the same word underlined in the text. Further down the page, 'Stoneheng' is written in another hand.

F. 102a : an almost undecipherable comment is written in the right-hand margin, opposite a reference to Peter's Pence: apparently 'When penne first '.

F. 110b : opposite a reference to the tearing down of churches by William II to make the New Forest is written '. . .puld downe to build . . a forest'.

F. 112a : the greater part of this page is blank, but contains the note 'wytnes that I haue Receued of Rychard . . '

F. 114b : at the foot of this page is written 'bryan gyf my. . .'

Damage

Ff. 1 - 4 are much frayed at the outer edges, but the text is not affected. The lower outer corner of f. 8 is torn off : the last word of the last line is missing on f. 8a, and the last two lines are damaged on f. 8b. On f. 60b ink or dark paint has been

spilt over the upper part of the page, but it has not materially injured the text. There is a small hole in f. 80 which has destroyed a word on f. 80a. On f. 99a the word 'pope' in the text has been heavily scored through with a later ink. Ff. 114a n 135b are badly damaged by a chemical, used to restore the text, which has dried dark brown. This has also been used on two lines on f. 66b. There are splashes of red ink, or paint, on ff. 114, 115.

History of the MS

The early history of the MS is unknown. In the 17th century it was for a time in the library of Dr. Richard Holdsworth (1590 - 1649), a famous puritan preacher, and Vice-chancellor of Cambridge 1642-3.

At his death, 'Holdsworth left behind him a large and valuable library, the possession of which was for some time a subject of dispute between the University and Emmanuel College. Ultimately (in 1664), the University paid the college £ 220 and acquired it. The rough catalogue, which occupied three Masters of Arts for three months, is in the Cambridge Library MSS . . . and accounts for 10,095 volumes, of which 186 were in manuscript.' ¹ MS Ff. 5 48 appears in this catalogue, where it can be identified by its contents. The library number of the MS when in Holdsworth's possession was 91, as marked at the top of f. 2. This indicates that f. 1 was missing already in the 17th century.

The Dictionary of National Biography states, under Gilbert

1. See the Dict. Nat. Biog., under Holdsworth.

Pilkington, that the MS 'once belonged to George Withers the poet,' and to William Bedwell, who printed the Tournament of Tottenham in 1631. If this is so, either the MS was lent by Holdsworth, or else it had not yet come into the latter's hands.

It was believed at one time that the ^taricles in the MS were the work of Pilkington,¹ whose name appears in the colophon to the Passio; Bedwell states firmly :

'The author hath not any where through the whole booke as farre as I remember, subscribed his name to any treatise, more then to one, where I finde it thus, Explicit Passio Domini nostri, Iesu Christi, quod dominus Gilbertus Pylkynton : Now because the character or phrase is all the same, I haue no reason but to thinke they be all workes of the same author.'²

There is, however, no evidence that Pilkington wrote even the Passio; he was merely the transcriber.

As the MS is in quarto, the watermarks are of no help in determining the age of the MS; and there is little or no internal evidence on this point : Gilbert Pilkington lived during the second half of the 14th century, and the handwriting is of the late 14th, or 15th century. The MS was therefore probably written during the early part of the 15th century.

1. 'Gilbert Pilkington, fl. c. 1350' Dict. Nat. Biog.

2. W. Bedwell, introduction to Tournament of Tottenham 1631.

Contents of MS Cambridge Ff 5 48

1. Ff. 2a + 8a. Directions to Parish Priests, (? John Myrc, fl.c.1400). One leaf missing at beginning. Begins (f.2a) :
 'womans seruyce pou muste forsake'
 Ends,
 'grawnte vs blisse with owte end.'
2. Ff. 8b - 9a. Moral rules, in verse, arranged alphabetically.
 Begins, 'Who so wil to be wyce
 and worship desirethe'
 Ends, 'ffor a mesurable meyne way is best for vs alle.'
3. Ff. 9b - 10b. 'Here sueth a tabull of diuerse moneth in the zere If thonder be herd in theym what it betokeneth after here sayng that ar holdyn wyse men of (soch) thyngus.'
 Ends, 'haue pees and (? giv) ye goode acorde.'
4. F. 10b. 'Contra ffures et latrones.' In Latin.
5. Ff. 11a - 43a. 'Passio Domini'. Begins
 'Herkyne now if ye wille here
 Off mycull pyte ye mow lere'
 Ends,
 'Amen for his names seuon.'
 'Explicit Passio Domini nostri Ihesu Christi Quod Dominus Gilbertus Pylkyngton Amen'. (In capitals)
 Underneath, in minuscules, 'ffinis adest mete Venit explicit ... valete'.
6. F. 43b. 'Memento Homo', a poem in eight lines. Begins,
 'When pi hed whaketh / memento'
 Ends,

- 'ffor then the deth folowes / veni ad iudicium.'
7. Ff. 43b - 44a. A poem of 32 lines on the Seven Deadly Sins. Begins,
 'With a garlande of thornes kene
 My hed was crowned per pat was sene.'
 Ends, 'Amende be and I forgif be.'
 There is an ornamental heading, and the sins are marked in red and brown capitals down the right-hand margin.
8. F. 44a - 48a. A Tale of the Unnatural Daughter. Printed in Hartshorne's Ancient Metrical Tales (1829). Begins,
 'Herkyngs now bothe more and lasse',
 and ends,
 'and zet shalle ze heuon wyne. ffinitur fabula.'
9. Ff. 48b - 56b. King Edward and the Shepherd. A narrative poem, in double columns. Begins,
 'God pat sittis in trinite
 Gyffe thaym grace wel to the'
 Ends,
 'When pat we met zister morowe
 I had not ben in pis bale.'
 'Non finis sed punctus' is written in capitals at the end.
 Printed by Hartshorne.
10. Ff. 57a - 57b. The Song of the Nightingale. Begins,
 'In a mornyng of may as I lay on slepyng'
 Ends,
 'Ny3tyngale pou gabbist me and pat is shame thyn.'

11. Ff. 58a - 61b. The Tale of a Basin. Begins,
 'Off talys and trifulles many man tellys'
 Ends,
 'Mary for y hir ioyes fyfe
 Shelde vs alle fro care. ffinitur '
 Printed by Hartshorne and by Jamieson.

12. Ff. 62a - 66a. The Tournament of Tottenham. Begins,
 'Of alle pese kene conqueroures to carpe is oure kynde'
 Ends,
 'ffor to here preciouſe
 Off six mennys song.' In capitals :
 'Explicit turnament of totenham.'
 First published by Bedwell in 1631. Printed in Percy's
Reliques (II), and edited by Thomas Wright in 1836.

13. F. 66b. Prognostications from the day on which Christmas
 falls, in Latin.

14. Ff. 67a - 70a. A Tale of a Father and his Son. Begins,
 'Man for thy myschif pou be amend'. Ends,
 'And streght to blysse pi saule shall fare.'
 Printed by Hartshorne.

15. Ff. 71a - 72b. Lamentation of the Virgin. Begins,
 'Listyns lordyngus to my tale'. Ends,
 'With hym and hir in heuyn to rest. Explicit.'

16. Ff. 73a - 74b. Lamentation of the Virgin. Begins,
 'Off ale women pat euer wer borne'. Ends,
 'To blisse wher is my dere son dere. Explicit fabula.'

Printed by Wright and Halliwell, Reliquiae Antiquae, 1843.

17. Ff. 74b - 75b. Address to the Virgin. Begins,

'Mary moder wel pou be'. Ends,

'And kepe me out of dedly synne
That I be neuer takyn per in. Explicit.'

Printed in Reliq. Ant.

18. Ff. 76a - 78b. Prognostications from the day of the week on which the year begins. Headed, in minuscules, 'Prophecy'.

Begins, 'Man pat will of wisdom lere
herkyn to be boke of profettis here'. Ends,

'Many beestis I be telle
In pat zere shalle be quelle. Explicit.'

Printed in Notes & Queries 2nd S.Vol.I pp.273 sqq.

19. Ff. 79a - 92b. On the Church festivals and Gospels. A different hand. Begins,

'Sant michael ye archangell and his fellagh also'. Ends,

'Zet sais oure lorde to ye jwes in yis ilke tide.'

20. Ff. 93a - 112a. 'Principium Anglie'. Begins,

'Herkenet hiderwards lordynges,
Ze that willen here of kynges'. Ends,

'Syng we now alle amen. Explicit.'

21. Ff. 112b - 113b. The Mourning of the Hare. Begins,

'ffer in frithe as I can fare'. Ends,

'ffor welle & wa away it gothe
and this word hit wendis away.'

Printed by Hartshorne.

22. Ff. 114a - 114b. Prognostications on the seasons of the

year, in prose. Begins, 'A hard wynter a drye somer a
wyndy hervest. .' Ends, 'plentte of hay and gret
of schepe.'

23. F. 114b. A ballad. Begins,
'I hage for sworne hit whil I life to wake the well'.
Ends, '. . . . fynde hit mylke and pap.'

24. Ff. 115a - 116a. The Feast. Begins,
'Now of pis feest telle I can'. Ends,
'zet myght pei not alle in fere
Haue eton pis meytis I reckende here.'
but peyr bodys had br...
Printed by Hartshorne. Explicit ffabula.'

Printed by Hartshorne.

25. Ff. 116a - 118b. A story of Transubstantiation. Begins,
'God pat on pe rode was rent'. Ends,
' in forme of brede. Explicit.'

26. Ff. 119a - 128b. Thomas of Erceldoune. Begins,
'As I me went pis andyrs day'. Ends,
'Thesu crowned with thorne so clere
Bryng vs to thy hall on hye. Explicit.'

27. Ff. 128b - 135b. A ballad of Robin Hood. One or more
leaves missing between ff. 130/131. Begins,
'In somer when pe s(ha)wes be sheyn'. Ends,
'bryng vs all to his blisse'.

Printed by Hartshorne.

The Cambridge MS Text of Thomas of Erceldoune

The text (Art.26) begins on f. 119a, and ends on f. 128b, of which it fills half the page. It is written in single columns of about 26 lines to a page. There is no title, and no ornamentation; the alternate, rhyming lines are marked by brackets in the same ink on ff. 119ab, 120ab, and parts of f. 121ab. A space has been left on f. 123b, at the beginning of Fytte II, for a capital F, and on f. 125b, at the beginning of Fytte III, for a capital T.

The hand is small, fairly neat and legible. There are many erasures, and frequent corrections and emendations by another hand. The paper, where undamaged, is almost white; the ink has faded to brown. Majuscules are frequently, but not invariably, used at the beginnings of lines. The usual abbreviations occur: p^u , p^t , w^t , p^s , eu , op^r . Thomas is frequently written Thoms^a.

All the leaves are much damaged by the chemical preparation used by Jamieson, when editing the text, for bringing out the writing. The preparation has dried dark brown, and has in some places made the writing almost illegible, as well as greatly disfiguring the MS. Apart from the damage caused to the text by this, and by water, which has in some places faded the ink, this part of the MS is in a good state of preservation. The leaves are untorn, and firmly sewn, and the edges of the leaves only slightly frayed.

MS Cotton Vitellius E x

MS Cotton is a paper volume in folio, consisting of 242 leaves. The contents, on widely-varying subjects, are written in different hands of the 15th century. Thomas covers ff. 240b - 243a, written in a large thick writing of the middle of the 15th century. On f. 240b the text is written in double columns of 29 and 30 lines; after this, however, the text is written straight across the page, the lines being separated by red lines or paragraph-marks. The poem is headed 'Incipit prophecia Thome Arseldon, and has a colophon, ' . . . hecia thome de Arseldoune', both in red ink. The text is written without a break. All the leaves are much damaged by fire, which has charred the inner sides of the leaves, so that every alternate line is damaged or lost.

For list of the contents of the MS, see :

J. Planta : Catalogue of the Cottonian MSS

Ward : Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum

MS Lansdowne 762

'A small quarto MS of 99 leaves of mixed parchment and paper, of about 1524 - 30.' (Murray) The contents consist largely of prophecies. Thomas extends from f. 24a to f. 31a ; ff. 29 - 31 are parchment. The text is written in a small, neat hand, with about 33 lines to a page, in single columns. The writing is decorative, with many flourishes. There are few erasures. There are no divisions between the fyttres, but the

poem is divided by para-graph marks into 8-line stanzas. The text ends abruptly at l.629, the rest of f.31a being left blank.

MS Sloane 2578

A quarto paper MS of prophecies of 117 leaves, written in 1547. Thomas begins on f.6a and ends on f.11b. It is written in a small, untidy hand, with no ornamentation of any kind. At the beginning of the poem is a paragraph-mark, and the heading, 'heare begynethe þe 1jd fytt I saye of Sir Thomas of Arseldon.' The text ends at l.696; there is no colophon. Cross-references to other parts of the MS are written in the left-hand margin, in contemporary and later hands.

For list of contents of the MS, see Murray p.lx.

III

THE PHONOLOGY, ACCIDENCE, AND ORTHOGRAPHY

OF THE MSS

MS THORNTON

Phonology1. OE ā.

Generally retained. The rhymes none:tane 345/347, sare:fare 437/439 prove that the original text was Nth. The ā has been fronted in pronunciation : cf. the rhyme rase:sayes 81/83. Instances of ō from OE ā also occur : more:wharefore 286/288; pou gose:none 313/315, where the original must have been pou gon as in Co.; and mone:gone 157/159 (see para.12). The last two are NEM forms. Both ā and ō forms occur throughout : rade 55 schane 140 maste 5 ane 74 etc. banes 168 stane 233 Haly 473 fame 538 hame 540. bothe (throughout) one 46 stones 51.53 moste 75 etc. An ō spelling, when not in a rhyme, is no proof that the word did not originally have ā; it merely indicates that the ō form was familiar to the writer. In the case of the ō rhymes quoted above, it is quite possible that a Nth. poet would use a Mdl. form for the sake of a rhyme.

2. OE ǣ + n.

Generally retained, but there are no rhymes which establish the original forms. Forms with Ǔ are also found: hande:knelande 254/256 sande:stande 537/539 vndirstande:lande 554/556 lange 55 404 amanges 268 strange 412. songe:ronge 30/32 longe 36 127.

3. OE ā + 3.

Remains as a, and is strong evidence of Nth. origin. Cf. the rhyme awenne:drawene 221/223. The form saghe (1st pers. pret. see)

occurs in 1.46, and is probably original, but cf. sawe 73 196.¹

4. OE ā + w.

Remains as a : saulle 167 et pass., kawene 586.

5. ME ā + l.

ā + l from Angl. ā + l (WS ēā + l) remains : haldis 370 balde 427 alde 427. A Sth. form occurs in welde 346.

6. OE æ².

OE æ² becomes ē : free:see 230/232 contree:see 394/396. Cf. Barbour's Bruce : se:be 325/326 he:se 345/346, and Sir Degrevant see:menze 133. These rhymes are characteristic of the Nth. and NEM, but occur occasionally in Chaucer, and later in Lydgate.

7. ME ē + 3.

Becomes -ye, with [i:] pronunciation; cf. the rhymes wyneberye: flye 181/183 heghe:ferly 370/372 ferly:hyee 698/700. The forms heghere 19 heghe 92 202 fleye 466 cannot be taken as evidence of [ɛ:] pronunciation : in the Sth. text S. Editha (early 15th cent.), in eight instances heyze and neyze (so spelt) rhyme with envye and by respectively.²

8. ME ě.

ě is frequently raised to ĭ : pristly 7 3itt 118 et pass., bryste 78 flynge 541 hynges 543. This is typical of the Nth. and NEM. OE feccan becomes foche 540, a form characteristic of the Nth., -cf. focche Cursor M., fotche Townl. Myst. foch

1. Cf. also lawe 206 from ON lāgr.

2. See Wyld : Short Hist. English, p. 127.

Gaw. & Gr.Kn.9. ME ē.

The following rhymes indicate that ē was [i:] in pronunciation. the:ferly 322/324 hye:tree 82/84, the pronunciation of hye being confirmed by the rhyme ferly:hyee 698/700.

10. ME e+r.

The rhyme whare:werre 18/20 proves that e+r had not yet become ar. The spelling marre 117 is probably merely scribal, - cf. merrys 127, also meruelle 5 et pass., so spelt throughout.

11. ME ĭ.

ME ĭ is lowered to ě in stefly 51 steraps 59 medill 160 feftty 263 mekill 291 335. This is a Nth. and N.Mdl. characteristic, but is found as far Sth. as Suffolk (cf. Bokenam, Seyntys).

12. OE ō.

The rhyme mone:gone 157/159 is not characteristic of the Nth. dialect, where ME ō from OE ō became [u:] in pronunciation in the 14th century. The rhyme occurs in all the MSS, and is probably original. Murray suggests wone for gone, but this alteration is unnecessary: The Castle of Perseverance (E.Mdl. c.1425) frequently rhymes ō : ō, and in fact has this very rhyme - to gon:mone:trone:bone 3334. This rhyme therefore shows that the passage was probably written in or near the E.Mdl., at the end of the 14th or beginning of the 15th century. The frequent u-spellings throughout, tuke, gude, lufly, etc., are consistent with the scribe's dialect and period (Yorks, middle of the 15th century).

13. OE y.

OE y becomes i : proved by the rhymes hill:vntill 218/220
wille:hille 350/352, 506/508. Cf. also dirke 168, but mery 299.

14. OE palatal c.

Becomes k, showing Scand. influence. That this was so in the original is proved by the rhyme kirke:irke 358/360, 434/436.
 Cf. also swylke 46 et pass., ylk 229 et pass., myrke 171,
mekill 291.

15. OE sc- .

Becomes s- : sall, solde throughout. This is a Nth. characteristic. But the form inglis never occurs, that used being always ynglysche 14 24 etc. The form schall occurs six times, between 11.491 - 511.

16. OE palatal g.

OE initial palatal g becomes guttural. This cannot be proved by rhyme, but as the letter ȝ is used to indicate palatal g, as in the word ȝing, it may be taken that g indicates guttural g. This is found in gyff = 'give' 311, and giff, gyff = 'if' 83 et pass., with one or two exceptions : if 37 ȝif 490.

17. ME v.

ME v, from all sources, is generally unvoiced to f, but there are frequent exceptions, and it is impossible to say which was the original form.

French : safe (vb) 14, but meruelle 5 et pass., Mawys 30, saue 24.

OE f, b : hafe 19 lufly 87 et pass., lufe 99 et pass. gyffe (vb)

100, but euer, neuer.

ON : thrife 344

18. Vowels in Unaccented Syllables.

Vowels in inflectional endings generally become i/y : syttis

13 rynnys 96 knelyde 85 bellys 65 benttis 306 brydill 63

aftyre 95, but also synges 300 askryede 40 amanges 268 batells

60.

Conclusions

All the evidence is in favour of the original dialect of the romance having been either Nth. or N.E.Mdl. There are a few distinctively Nth. features; the one instance which appears to preclude a Nth. origin may be accounted for by the exigencies of rhyme.

Nth. and N.E.Mdl. features

(a) retention of OE \bar{a} .

(b) retention of OE $\check{a} + n$.

(c) retention of Angl. $\bar{a} + l$ unchanged to \bar{o} .

(d) OE \bar{a}^2 as \bar{e} .

(e) \check{e} raised to \check{i} .

(f) OE y as i .

(g) OE $sc-$ as $s-$.

Nth. features

(a) OE $\bar{a} + g$ as \bar{aw} .

(b) OE $\bar{a} + w$ unchanged.

(c) ME v unvoiced to f .

E.Mdl. features

ō from OE ā rhyming with ō from OE ō (one instance only :
mone:gone 157/159).

Accidence

The Indefinite Article.

Ane before vowels and h, and in three cases before a consonant :
ane semly tre 74 an certane solempe day 426 an ryche arraye 395.

Nouns.

Sing. Nom., Acc., Dat., — e.

Gen. — e/i/y - s. Without -s : dere blode 249.

Plur. — e/i/y - s. Without -s : thre zere 286.

Pl. in -n : schone 12 eghne 132.

Pronouns.

Nth. forms without exception.

Personal. Sing. Nom. I bou scho. Acc.fem. hir

Plur. ze zow zoure

pay payre/paire pame/payme

Demonstr. Plur. thir

Indef. ilke/ylke swylke wheper nowper

Verbs.

Infin. in — e : wrye 38 see 50 duelle 192 (all rhyme-words)

Pres.Indic. Sing. 1 — (e) : praye 7 saye 103 highte 193 wend 305

2 — (y/i)s : chewys 119 merrys 127 syttis 13

3 — e/i/y-s : lygges 214 tellis 123

Plur. —e/i/y-s : synges 300 fadis 327 rynnys 96
but breke 367

Imper. Sing. —e : rewe 105 lygge 194

Plur. —i/y-s : takis 2 lystyns 1

Pres.Part. -and(e) : makand 27 byggande 182

Preterite. Str.Vbs. Sing. 1 —e : laye 33

3 —e : schone 48

Plur. —e : rone 70 sange 184

Wk Vbs. Sing. 1 —e : herde 29

3 -(e) : menyde 30 dyed 23

Plur. —e : semede 132

Past Part. Str.Vbs. —ne : tane 347 slayne 356 dongene 411

Wk Vbs. —e/i/y-de : seruede 229 fillide 249

fadyde 139. But compaste 52

The Verb To Be.

Infin. be(e)

Pres.Indic. Sing. 1 am(e) 2 erte,arte 3 es

Plur. are

Preterite. Sing. was

Plur. were,ware

Pres.Subj. Sing. be,ware

Fut. Sing 2 bese 40 295

Notes on Verbs.

1. The forms solde,wolde, used throughout are Nth.Mdl. rather than Nth. (Cf. Barbour : suld,wuld).
2. The pp. tane 347 of the vb. take is a typically Nth. form.
3. pay fande : gangande 257/259. The context requires the pret.

pl. of fande, from OE fandian (wk) 'to try, test' : but the pret. of this would be fandede. It is possible that the form here is by analogy with the pret. fande of the vb. find, - the late ME pret. pl. being taken from the sing.

4. The rhymes prove that the lack of -n in the pret. pl. of verbs was part of the original text : pay were : cjere 57/59, pay rone : flone 70/72 herbere : pay were 177/179.

Orthography

U

U is written medially for v : euer meruelle saue 24 seuene 70
for w : foloued 254 duellide 273

Ou represents OF o : mountayne 82 countree 95

OE u : boure 126

Celtic u : Eldoun 80

V

V is written initially for u : vndir vpe

W

W is written medially for v in two cases : Mawys 30 chewys 119

W is written for OF u in one case : frwte 178 (cf. Paston Letters dwe (1424) 3w hwsbond (1448)).

Ow represents OE u in abowte 32 owte

Aw represents OF a, au in fawte 176 dawnese 269

Double Letters

F is doubled medially when preceded and followed by a vowel :
suffarris 212 wayffande 538.

L is frequently, but not invariably, doubled after long and short vowels, stressed and unstressed: allone 28 dullful 138 ells 188. It is usually doubled finally: throstyll 29 sall 3 et pass. euyll 320; and invariably in words of French origin: roelle 49 perelle 60 castelle 215.

N is often doubled medially and finally after a short vowel: hunntlee bannkkis 678 sonne 47 140 synne 104. It is doubled after a long vowel in tresounne 381.

P is doubled after short a, stressed and unstressed: dappill 41 appone 83 403 appill 179.

R is often doubled medially after a short vowel: arraye 395 fforryours 529.

S is doubled medially after short vowels in curtassye 256 grysselle 382; and finally after long vowels in prysse 94 wysse 99 rysse 206.

Double letters frequently, but not invariably, indicate a preceding short vowel.

Double a and o are used to indicate final long vowels only.

MS CAMBRIDGE

Phonology1. OE ā.

Becomes o : rode 55 woo 165 bonys 168 pore 511 sory 673.

There are two exceptions : bathe 513 bad(w)o(r)d 640

2. OE ǣ+n.

Usually becomes ǒ : mony 72 stondand 129 nyhonde 186 londe 375 sondyford 630. An occasional form in ǣ occurs : stand 187, and the pres.part. ending is -and, with one exception: triklond 440. ǣ becomes ě in sendyforth 625.

3. OE ā+z.

Becomes ōw : owne 221 (rhyming w. drawyn 223). But cf. lawe 206 from ON lāgr.

4. OE ā+w.

Becomes ōu, ōw : soule 167 et pass. nouper 556. Cf. also fowkyn 303 from OF faucon.

5. OE æ+z.

Generally becomes ei, ey : seid 137 leyd 197 feyre 235. But always day, sla(y)ne.

6. OF ai, ei.

Becomes eɣ : feynte 188 attheynte 189 peyn 204 seynt 557.

7. ME ě.

Becomes ǣ in andys 25, and the unstressed form whan 204 et pass.

Becomes i, y, in spill (OE spellian) 317 myngyd 380.

Remains as ě in zet 118 et pass., fezt 352 549.

8. ME ē.

Apart from the rhymes, which indicate the original dialect of

the romance, and not that of the MS, the following spellings indicate that \bar{e} had become [i:] : lire (OE hleor) 68 fylde 607.

9. ME e+r.

Generally becomes ar : marre 117 rhyming w. warre 119, hartis 262 farløy 324; but cf. the forms ferlye 265 fer 534. The rhyme marre:Don(bar) 658/660 indicates an a-pronunciation, but the rhyme warre:hír 661/663, if not corrupt, suggests an e-pronunciation.

10. ME o.

Generally o : loke 92 toke 228 gode 235; but gude 339 lufly 99 et pass. (cf. louely 87).

11. OE u+nasal.

The u frequently remains : sune 47 sunne 139 sum 311 begune 618 cum 567 609.

12. OE y.

Becomes i generally spelt with an y : gyrdill 72 wyrke 166 hyll (rhyming w. will) 508 shyld 549. The rhyme ryde:pryde 429/431 proves that this was so in the original text. There are two exceptions : mery 27 furst 535.

13. OE palatal c.

Becomes ch in mych 431 such 697 698.

Becomes k in dyke 670 mekill 335 qwylke 608.

sc- becomes sh- : shalle schalle shuld throughout.

14. ME v.

Frequently unvoiced : lufly 99 gif (vb) 100 311 thrive 344.

15. Vowels in Unaccented Syllables.

Vowels in unaccented syllables become i/y or u. A few cases

in o also occur. Examples are :

i : sadill 49 garthis 57 knelid 85 fillid 249

y : reuyll 49 stonys 53 duryd 204 drawyn 223

u : nobull 57 tellus 123 fadut 139 appuls 179 hengud 223

o : heuon 91 294 roton 330 gyvon 661 .

General Notes

(a) it appears as hit throughout.

(b) The following ^Pathetic form occurs : scryed 40.

(c) folud 253, ³rd pers.sing.pret. of follow. Apparently a Nth.

form : it occurs twice in Cursor M.

(d) magrat 672. This form is not given by the NED. The nearest is mawgrethe (14th - 15th cent.).

Accidence

The Indefinite Article.

A before consonants, with one exception : an palys 434.

Nouns.

Sing. Gen. without -s : dere blode 249

Plur. — i/y/e-s : stir~~x~~oppis 59 stonys 53 ioyes 208

Without -s : seuen 3er 286

In -n : een 132 634 674

Pronouns.

Personal. Sing. Nom. I pou 3e, ye

Acc.fem. hir, hur

Plur. bei per, peir pem

Demonstr. Sing. pis Plur. pese.

Indef. odir nouper such sike qwylke

Verbs.

Infin. in — e : mete 80 pleese 199 harpe 313

Pres. Indic. Sing. 1 — (e) : tell 69 hope 78

2 — is/st : ridis 98 marris 127 thryuist 119

3 — i/y/e-s : stondis 218 berys 328 lyes 206

— th : berith 219

Plur. — : syng 300

— n : rannen 96

— (i)s : goos 369 holdis 370

Imper. Sing. — (e) : rew 87 trow 119 buske 277

Pres. Part. — yng : makyng 26 stondyng 233

— and : ridand 36 stondand 128

— ond : triklond 440

Preterite. Str. Vbs. Sing. — (e) : rong 32 schon 48 bare 71

Plur. — (e) : stode 274 fande 257 ran 66

Wk. Vbs. Sing. — i/y-d : answerid 281 menyd 30

— de : herde 29 farde 31

Plur. — y/e-d : semyd 132 departed 696

Past Part. Str. Vbs. — (n)(e) : ben 286 begon 60 tane 347 be 283

Wk. Vbs. — i/y-d : parellid 94 duryd 204

— d : coupuld 250 pareld 97

— ed : serued 225 scryed 40

— te : compaste 52

— y/u-t : woundyt 550 fadut 139

The Verb To Be.Infin. bePres. Indic. Sing. 1 am 2 art 3 isPlur. arPreterite. Sing. wasPlur. werePres. Subj. Sing. be wereFut. Sing. 2 beys 295Note.The Midl. forms shuld wold(e) are used throughout.Summary of Dialect FeaturesNorthern.

1. Occasionally u for ME o; gude lufly.
2. Frequent unvoicing of ME v : gif thrive.
3. Retention of OE ā (one instance) : bathe 513.
4. One instance of Nth. hard g : lyg 527.

Scottish.

1. Two examples of pp. of wk. vbs. in - t : fadut 139 woundyt 550
2. andys 25. The NED gives this as a purely Sc. form of ON endr.

Midland.

1. OE ā becomes ō.
2. OE ā + w, ā + 3, become ōw.
3. Palatal c, sc-, become ch, sh- sch-.
4. Verbs : Pres. Indic. sg. 2 -t, 3 -s/th, plur. -s, pres. part. -yng.

E.Midland.

- (4) OE palatal c becomes k in a few instances. (Also typical of the Nth).
- (2) The fem. pronoun is she.
- (3) Personal prons.plur. bei per bem.
- (4) ME ě becomes ĭ in spill 317 myngyd 380
- (5) Pres. part. in -and. (also Nth).
- (6) qw- for wh- in two instances: qwer 369 qwylke 608 (also Nth).

W.Midland.

- (1) OE ǣ + nasal becomes ǿ.
- (2) OE y becomes u in two instances: hur 39 furst 535.
- (3) The vowel u is frequently found in unaccented syllables.

Conclusions.

The Mdl. characteristics are much stronger than the Nth., and the E.Mdl. features are more numerous than the W.Mdl. It seems probable that the MS was written in the E.Mdl. area, possibly sufficiently far west to be influenced by W.Mdl. forms. The writer may also have been influenced by the Nth. dialect; but the Nth. forms are neither consistent nor very numerous, and it is more likely that the writer was copying from a Nth. MS.

Orthography

Q

There are two instances of qw- for wh-, a Nth. and E.Mdl. characteristic : qwer 369 qwylke 608.

S and C

There is one example of s for c in a Fr. loan-word : sertenly 39,
and one of c for s in a word of OE origin : halce 71.

U

Ou is written for OE ū : about boure 126 foulys 300.

U is written for OE w : quen 91 to morou 289 soule 167.

U is written medially for ME v : deuyse 96 reuel 262 louely.

V

V is written initially for u : vnderneth vp, etc.

W

W is written for OE w in qwene 88 yow 69 sowlis 204.

for Fr. u in bewte 104.

Ow is written for OE u in fowle (adj.) 289 towne 219.

for Fr. au in fowte 176 fowken 302.

Double Letters.

D is doubled after short a : badde 197 gladde 199 laddys 651.

E is doubled to indicate a long vowel : leesshe 65 seesse 67

leed (n) 136 pleese 199 deese 227 lee 228.

L is usually doubled finally : throstell 29 sadill 49 nobull 57.

N is often doubled after a short vowel : rannen 96 brennand 216.

O is doubled to indicate a final long vowel : moost 94 bloo 136

woo 165 wroo 625.

P is doubled after a short vowel, stressed and unstressed : dappull 41
stiroppis 59 lappand 269.

S is often doubled after a stressed vowel, whether long or short:

leesshe 65 seesse 67 blisse 336. It is usually doubled before h.

T is often doubled after a short vowel : sitte 37 mette 84 grettist 265.

MS COTTON

Phonology

1. OE ā.

Generally becomes \bar{o} : shone 140 wo 165 stone 233 two 369; cf. also bro 625 from ON brá. In a few cases \bar{a} remains : sare 437 haly stane 478, the retention of these forms being due to the rhymes.

OE $\bar{a} + 3$ remains : awn 394; cf. also lawe 206 256 from ON lág.

OE $\bar{a} + w$ remains : sawles 204

Angl. $\bar{a} + l$ (WS $\bar{e}a$ 1) is retained in alde 427 hald 476 481.

2. OE ǣ + n.

Is found as both \bar{o} and \bar{a} : mony 51 ony 136 stonde 358; lange 270 amang 290 strange 523.

3. ME e + r.

Is written both e and a : hertes 263 ferly 261 et pass. marre 117 warre 119. The rhyme ware: hyr 661/663 seems to indicate an e-pronunciation, but a form har occurs in the Cely Papers.

4. OE i.

Is occasionally lowered to e : breddis 300 wethy 477. Cf. also skele 288 from ON skil, and gresel 382 from OF grisel.

5. OE y.

Becomes \bar{a} , generally written y : myche, syche throughout, gyrdyll 72 hyl 510 hyll 352. In two cases it is lowered to e : werke 166 shelde 371.

6. OE palatal c.

Generally written ch : syche, myche yche 229 holychyrche 473.

cf. also the inverted spelling kynche horn 401 for kynke horne as in T. Forms in k also occur : ilke 430 kyrke 434 dyke 670. sc- becomes sh- : shere 368 shelde 371; but suld and sal through-out, except for shal 79 106.

Unaccented Syllables.

Usually in y : ouyr 36 domysday 37 lyghtyd 121 watyr 172. But cf. croper 62. and

Orthography and general Notes

- (1) k is frequently used for ME c : kontre 196 kokes 266 kan 274 420.
- (2) s is used for OF c in sertenly 283.
- (3) The spellings palfra 41 sla (interpol. after 429), indicate that ME -ay was a monophthong, -a characteristic of the Nth. dialect.
- (4) The spelling scoyne 425, with a following y to indicate a long vowel, is characteristic of the Nth. and NEMdl. dialects.
- (5) The spelling fyer 216 suggests that ME \bar{i} had become diphthongised.

Accidence

The Indefinite Article.

A before consonants; an before h.

Nouns.

Plur. — es : stones 53 kokes 265 lordes 404

In -n : eyne 132

Pronouns.Personal. Sing. Nom. I bou/pu/3e she/scheAcc. be/3e/ye/3ow hyrGen. pu/p1/3our hyrPlur. Nom. pai/payAcc. paim/pem/hymGen. pair/hyr/hirDemonstr. Sing. bis Plur. bes 3oneIndef. syche myche eche ich ilke oper noperVerbs.Infin. in - e : wrabbe 38 se 50 mete 80Pres.Indic. Sing. 1 (e) : pray 102 trowe 1662 s/st/th : byleues 108 cheuyst 119wilt 120 art 291 hath 2863 ys/es/th(e) : lyggys 202 standes 218sayth 123 beth 140 hathe 302Plur. s : holdes 370th : growith 629Imper. Sing. (e) : 3eue 100Pres.Part. yng(e) : rydyng 36 bredynge 182 syttynge 231Preterite. Str.Vbs. Sing. (e) : say 46 ran 82 sawe 29Plur. (e) : lay 265 sat 272 sange 272Wk.Vbs. Sing. yd/yt : knelyd 85 movyde 308Plur. yd/yt : dressyd 267 dansyd 269Plur. semyt 132Past Part. Str.Vbs. (n)(e) : layne 112 tane 481 bore 400tak 517

(6) The form wolde used throughout.

The Mdl. forms occur more frequently than the Nth.; some of the latter are also characteristic of the E.Mdl. The conclusion to be drawn from the evidence is, that MS Cotton was written somewhere in the E.Mdl. area, and was probably copied from a Nth. MS, several dialect features of which have been retained by the writer.

MS LANSDOWNE

Phonology and Spelling

1. ME e+r is frequently written ar : harde 29 harte 78; but also herd 59 werres 520.
2. ME ai/ay is written ey : ley 73 wey 203 deyce 231 gey 491.
3. ME i/y is generally lowered to e : leue 37 descreued 40 heght 193 beldith 302.
4. ME W.Mdl. ō+n is generally retained : song 31 rong 32 honge 54.
5. The following unmetathesized forms occur : thrid 209 brent 223.
6. Two forms with Sth. palatal g occur : ayene 156 yeue 100.
7. Unaccented syllables have y/i : datys 180 soulis. u : yendur 213. e : yender 209.
8. A long vowel is generally indicated by a following i/y : foynd 257 goyn 259 boith 351 tayne 481 seyne 616.
9. W is written medially for v : lowly 105 deweile 188 hewyn 204 knywys 266 ewylle 320 rawyn 449 lewe 292.

AccidencePersonal Pronouns.

Sing.	Nom.	<u>thowe</u> , <u>ye</u>	<u>he</u>	<u>sche</u> , <u>she</u>
	Acc.	<u>you</u> , <u>the</u>	<u>hym</u>	<u>here</u> , <u>hir</u>
	Gen.	<u>thy</u> , <u>the</u>	<u>his</u>	<u>here</u> , <u>hir</u> , <u>hure</u>
Plur.	Nom.	<u>they</u>		
	Acc.	<u>hem</u> , <u>them</u>		
	Gen.	<u>here</u> , <u>ther(e)</u>		

Verbs, General Notes.

The 3rd pers.sing. of the Pres.Indic. is generally in —th(e):
tellythe 123 spryngyth 158 lyeth 202. One form in —s occurs: berys
 219.

There are two instances of the Pres.Indic.Plur. in —s: sofferis
 212 holdes 370, and one in —th: syngith 300.

In one instance the Nth. Pres.part. in —and has been retained,
 owing to the rhyme : kneland 256; elsewhere it is in —yng.

The imper. sing. of the verb to be occurs as ware 99.

The pp. of str. verbs is in —e : slaye 347 take 413 toke 517.

IV

NOTES ON THE READINGS OF THE MSS

Notes on the Readings of the MSS

Thornton

Br. = Brandl. M. = Murray. HP = Halliwell-Phillips. Ja. = Jamieson.

- 5 Br. 'forowttyn'.
- 22 Ja. 'be tane thare'.
- 219 M. 'towne & towre'.
- 406 M.Br. 'one rede claye'. It is difficult to distinguish u from n in this hand; the MS may read either on or ou.
- 475 Br. 'castell gl. .'
- 477 M. 'By syde a wyll'. Br. 'with(y)'.
- 503 M. 'journaye'.
- 556 Br. '(Nowp)er by'
- 558 M. 'd)ayes lange'. No d is discernible, and the x is quite distinct.
- 560 M. ')e lande'.

Cotton

- 39 M. 'Sertenly'.
- 49 M. and Br. 'jewel'. Scott 'rewel'.
- 53 M. 'osrt'. Br. 'isrk'.
- 85 downe is written above the line, with an omission-mark before on.
- 62 M. 'hir', 'yra('.
- 100 M. '3e'.
- 121 M. 'bry3ht'.
- 126 M. '3e'.

- 188 M.'er'.
- 205 M.')is'.
- 229 M.'eche'.
- 250 M.'ratches'.
- 268 M.'wonder'.
- 309-10 These lines have been written immediately after 1302, and
crossed out
- 325 M.Br.'sey'.
- 326 M.Br.'rode'.
- 329 M.'(ball)oves'.
- 340 M.Br.'a bide'.
- 359 M.'ye'.
- 360 M.'sal'.
- 377 M.Br.'can'.
- 397 M.'pat day'.
- 402 A space has been left after the paragraph-mark separating
the line from 401, as if for the later insertion of a word
(probably 'slay') before fele.
- 412 M.'kylled'.Br.'kyllyd'.
- 471 M.'In to (yng '.
- 521 M.'fraunce'.
- 534 M.Br.'pis' for (as).
- 572 M.'(fynd no)'.
630 M.'call'.
- 646 M.'grey'.
- 688 M.Br.'weke'.
- 691 M.'(tong is che)fe of melody'.
- 698 M.'pis ferly'.
- 700 M.'halle (on hye).'

Lansdowne

- 33 M.Br.'loning'.
 54 M.Br.'thick'.
 177 M.'tyl'.
 215 M.Br.'hit it'.
 216 M.'brynyng'.
 250 M.'king'.
 259 M.'gytorne'.
 308 M.'Assildoun'.
 314 M.'sopele'.Br.'sothely'.
 352 M.'helydowne'.
 362 M.Br.'pe'.
 364 M.'A thowsand'.
 365 M.Br.'pou'.
 450 The r of gray is crossed through in the MS.
 462 say is written above the line, with an omission-mark after
I.
 474 M.'religyons'.
 482 with is repeated in the MS.
 488 M.'Assilldone'.
 496 M.'be don'. do is written after be, but is crossed out.
 513 M.'pet'.

Cambridge

- 39 Br.'hir'.
 82 M.'mounteyn'.
 83 M.'certainly'.
 102 The MS reads: let me me be.
 133 my is crossed out in the MS and hir substituted.

- .135 my and shanke was are crossed out in the MS, and pe pe substituted.
- 138 M.'dolfull'.
- 160 M.'pat'.
- 161 Br.'appon his knee'.
- 171 In the MS 'per as derk as mydnyght myrke' is crossed out, and wher hit was derk as any hell substituted. The writing of the substituted version resembles the hand of the text very closely, but there is a slight difference in the h.
- .196 M.'pi'.Ja.,HP 'pe'.
- 212 M.'schalle'.
- 220 In the MS per is crossed out, before non.
- 224 ben repeated, crossed out, and he substituted.
- 249 rede crossed out, and dere substituted.
- 274 M.'parde'.Ja. and HP 'perdye'.
- 286 M.'and'.
- 290 M.'folke'.
- 296 M.'ffor(th)'. There is no trace whatever of th.
- 314 M.'pe chese'. But the first letter, with tail curving to the right, does not resemble the usual form of the letter thorn. It is exactly similar to the letter y as found elsewhere in the MS. In the next word, the first two letters exactly resemble those of the, the last word in the line.
- 324 The last two words of the line have been written over other words, now illegible. Br.'ferly changed to farly.'

- 328 M.'nedur'.
- 329 Ja.'fallys'.
- 330 M.'roten'.
- 338 M.'lengur'.
- 351 M.Br.'fre'. Ja.'fro'.
- 353 M.'brucys'. Ja. and HP 'brutys'.
- 355 M.'C thowsand'. The letter is the same as that in 363, which M gives correctly as V.
- 359 M.'will'.
- 360 The words be at (very widely spaced), appear to be written over other words, of which faint traces can still be seen. Ja.'be done at'.
- 362 M.'brucys'. Ja.'brouttys'. HP 'brouttus'.
- 365 M.'pray pe'. Ja.'the day the'.
- 369 Br.'hwer'.
- 371 There is space before goo for another word besides pou.
- 387 M.'englissemen'.
- 388 M.'nyght'.
- 429 M.'Englond'.
- 430 M.'pat liggys'. Ja.'ther l.'. Br.'liggyest'.
- 431 M.'mycul'. Ja. and HP 'mych'. The final h appears to be written over ul.
- 432 M.'kny3tes'. HP 'alle the kn.'
- 434 M.'A'.
- 488 and 494, a space has been left for an illuminated capital.
- 497 M.'brucis' 'shall'. HP 'brutes'.
- 498 M.'wyn'. This and the preceding line appear to be written over earlier writing. In 498 the words 'blode shall wy. . '

can be discerned, one letter in advance of the later writing. Under the e of wyne the letter p can be seen, - the obliterated words were no doubt 'pe spray'; there is no trace of these words in the later writing.

510 M. 'cley'.

511 M. omits per and reads the last word as pere.

527 'cragg' is crossed out, and cragys written above.

528 M. 'fallep hye'. The letter which M. reads as p more closely resembles y, and is probably a trace of a word written over.

550 Traces of earlier writing can be discerned beneath the last two words. shal seems to cover the same word, written a little further back, and spelt with two l's. The -ne of rone seems to be written over -ey, as if the original was 'shall away'.

555 M. 'per'. Ja. 'that'. The top of the t is quite plain.

559 M. 'and'.

616 M. 'sayd'. Br. and Ja. 'seyn' HP 'seyne'.

642 M. 'sey'.

622 M. 'ylke a worde'.

624 M. 'It (shall)'. The e of sandeford appears to be written over a y.

633 M. 'seid'.

661 M. 'gyven'.

669 M. 'preuisse'.

677 M. 'sittes'.

694 M. 'eldryn'.

696 M. omits 'A(n)d'.

700 M. 'thi'.

Sloane

- 328 on is written above the line in place of a word made illegible by a blot.
- 340 M.'somme'.
- 395 M.'Ther'. Br.'thei'.
- 411 M.'sonne'.
- 425 'scone' is written in a smaller hand above scoune.
- 471 M.'pai'.
- 474 M.'burne'.
- 522 M.'mare'.
- 560 'dvnnes more' is written in another hand above claydon
moore.
- 679 M.'bankis'.

THE PRESENT EDITION

The Present Edition

In the present edition, the five MSS are printed in parallel columns : in Fytte I in the order Thornton, Cotton, Lansdowne, and Cambridge; in Fyttes II and III Sloane follows on the next page after the other MSS.

The relationship of the MSS is difficult to determine. All are more or less corrupt, and have departed at various points from the original text. MS Thornton is the oldest and best of the texts : it has retained more of the original dialect, and has fewer corruptions, than any of the others. The next in value is MS Cambridge, which generally follows the T text fairly closely. MS Cotton, also of the 15th century, is very badly damaged by fire, but provides some interesting readings, and has occasionally preserved the original sense where T and Ca. are corrupt (see Notes on the Texts and Prophecies). MSS Lansdowne and Sloane are later (16th century), and less reliable, but, like Co., have some interesting and valuable readings. The parallel texts show where the readings of the MSS diverge; and these readings are fully discussed in the Notes. The most that can be said, speaking generally, is, that Thornton is the most likely to provide the correct reading; and, where that is deficient or corrupt, MS Cambridge.

With the exceptions of Cambridge and Lansdowne, the MSS make no distinction between þ and y ; where the letter intended is obviously a thorn, it has been printed as such. Contractions have been expanded, and the omitted letters underlined. Brackets indicate that

the letters enclosed are almost illegible. Dots indicate that the MS is damaged, or the text totally illegible. A blank indicates that a line does not occur in the MS, but that the latter has no break. Interpolations, found only in one text, are not numbered. Pages in the MSS begin at the line opposite which the number of the page is marked. Scribal errors such as the omission of a letter, or the repetition of a word, have generally been rectified; the more important are mentioned in the Notes on the Readings of the MSS. It is often so much a matter of opinion whether certain letters are, or are not capitals, and whether a final flourish in a word shall be taken as an e, that editorial differences on these points are not listed in the Notes.

A complete list of previous editions of the romance is printed in the Bibliography.

VI

THOMAS OF ERCELDOUNE

MS Thornton A 5.2

Tomas Off Ersseldoune

Lystyns, lordyngs, bothe grete & smale, f.149b
 and takis gude tente what I will saye:
 I sall 3ow telle als trewe a tale
 Als euer was herde by nyghte or daye,
 And be maste meruelle, ffor owttyne naye, 5
 That euer was herde by fore or syene,
 And perfore pristly I 3ow praye,
 That 3e will of 3oure talkyng blyne.
 It es an harde thyng for to saye
 Of doghety dedis pat hase bene done, 10
 Of felle feghtyngs, & batells sere,
 And how pat (pir) knyghtis hase wonne pair schone.
 Bot Thesu crist pat syttis in trone,
 Safe ynglysche mene bothe ferre & nere;
 And I sall telle 3ow tyte and sone, 15
 Of Batells donne sythene many a zere,
 And of batells pat done sall bee,
 In whate place, and howe, and whare,
 And wha sall hafe be heghere gree,
 And whethir partye sall hafe be werre; 20
 Wha sall takk be flyghte and flee,
 And wha sall dye and by leue thare.
 Bot Thesu crist pat dyed on tre,
 Saue inglysche mene whare so pay fare.

MS Thornton (contd.)

MS Cotton Vitell.E x

Fytte I

Incipit prophecia f.240b
Thome Arseldon.

Als I me wente pis Endres daye,
 ifull faste in mynd makand my mone,
 In a mery mornynge of Maye,
 By huntle bankkes my selfe allone,
 I herde be jaye & be throstyll
 The Mawys menyde hir of hir songe, ^{cokke,}
be wodewale beryde als a belle,
 That alle be wode abowte me ronge.
 Allonne in longynge thus als I laye,
 Vndyre nethe a semely tree,
 . . . I whare a lady gaye
ouer a longe lee.
 If I solde sytt to domesdaye,
 With my tonge to wrobbe and wrye,
 Certanely, pat lady gaye
 Neuer bese scho askryede for mee.
 Hir palfraye was a dappill graye,

Swylke one ne saghe I neuer none;
 Als dose be sonne on somers daye,
pat faire lady hir selfe scho schone.
 hir selle it was of roelle bone,

25 In a lande as I was lent, 25
 In be grykyng of be day,
 Me a lone as I went,
 In huntle bankys me for to play,
 I sawe be throstyl & be iay,
 30 be mawes movyde of hyr songe 30
be wodwale sange notes gay,
pat all be wod a boutte range.
 In pat longynge as I lay,
 vndir nethe a dern tre,
 35 I was war of a lady gay 35
 Come rydyng ouyr a fayre le.
 30gh I sulde sitt to domysday,
 With my tonge to wrabbe & wry,
 Certenly, all hyr aray
 40 It beth neuer discryuyd for 40
 hyr palfra was dappyll gray, ^{me.}

Syche on say I neuer none;
 . . . son in somers day,
 all abowte pat lady schone.
 (hyr) sadyl was of a rewel bone,

MS Lansdowne 762

MS Cambridge Ff 5 48

Fytte I

f.119a

f.24a

As I me went this thender day,
 So styll makyng my mone,
 In a mery mornyng of may,
 In huntly bankes my self alone,
 I harde the meryll and the jay,
 The maner menede of hir song
 The wylde wod-wale song notes^{gay,}
 That alle the shawys abowte hem^{rong.}
 But in a lonyng as I lay,
 Vnder neth a semely tre,
 I saw where a lady gay
 Cam rydyng ouer a louely le.
 Thowh that I leue styll tyll^{domys day,}
 With any my tonge to worble or^{were,}
 The certayn sothe of hir array
 May neuer be descreued for me.
 Hir palfray was of Daply gray,
 The farest molde that any myght^{f.24b}
 Here sadell bryght as any day,
 Set with pereles to the kne.
 And furthermore of hir array,
 Diuers clothing she had vpon;
 And as the sonne in somerys day,
 fforsouthe the ladye here sylffe^{shone.}
 Here sege was of ryall bone,

25 As I me went pis andyrs day, 25
 ffast on my way makyng my mone,
 In a mery mornyng of may,
 Be huntley bankis my self alone,
 I herde pe iay & pe throstell,
 30 pe mavys menyd in hir song, 30
pe wodewale farde as a bell,
pat pe wode aboute me rong.
 Alle in alongyng as I lay,
 Vnderneth a cumly tre,
 35 Saw I wher a lady gay 35
 Came ridand ouer a louely le.
 3if I shuld sitte till domes-^{day,}
 Alle with my tong to know & se,
 Sertenly alle hur aray
 40 Shalle hit neuer be scryed for 40
 hir palfray was of dappull^{me.}
 g(rey),
 45
 Sike on se I neuer non;
 As dose pe sune on somers day,
pe cumly lady hir selfe schon.
 hir sadill was of reuyll bon,

Lansdowne

Syche one sau I neuer with ye, 50
 Set with many a precious stone,
 And cumpasyde all with crapote,
 With stonys of oryoles, grete
 Dyamondes thyk aboute hir honge; plenty;
 She bare a horne of gold semely, 55
 And vnder hir gyrdell a flone.
 She blewe a note, and treblyd als,
 The Ryches in to the shawe gan
 There was no man that herd the gone;
 Saue thomas, there he lay a lone. 60
 here cropyng was of ryche gold,
 here parrell alle of alaran,
 here brydyll was of reler bolde,
 On euery side hangyd bellys then.

 She led iiij greue hwndes in a
 Seue richys aboute hir syde ran; 70

 Thomas ley and beheld this syght
 vnder neth a sembyl tre;
 'Yendyr ys that ladye most of
 That bare the chylde that bled myght,
 for me.

Cambridge

Semely was pat sight to s(e), 50
 Stifly sette with precious
 Compaste aboute with (cr)a(p)-
 Stonys of oryons, gret (pl)ente; ston,
 hir here aboute hir hed hi(t) hong;
 She rode out ouer pat lo(ue)ly 55
 A while she blew, a while she
 Hir garthis of nobull silke f.119b
 hir boculs pei were of barys
 hir stiropois thei were of ston
 And alle with perry aboute be, 60
 Hir paytrell was of a riall
 hir cropur was of arafe, fyne,
 hir bridull was of golde fyne,
 On every side hong bellis thre.
 She led iiij grehoundis in a 65
 Viij rachis be hir fete ran; leesshe,
 To speke with hir wold I not
 hir lire was white as any seesse;
 ffor sothe, lordyngis, as I yow swan.
 thus was pis lady fayre begon; 70
 She bare a horne about hir
 And vnder hir gyrdill mony halce,
 Thomas lay and saw pat sight flonne.
 vnderneth a semely tre;
 he said, 'yonde is mary of 75
pat bare pe childe pat died myght,
 for me.

Lansdowne

But yf I speke with that lady
 bryght,
 I trowe my harte wolde breke in
 thre;
 I wyll go wyth all my myght,
 And mete with hir at Elden tre.' 80

Thomas raythly vp a rose,
 And ran ouer that montayne hye;
 Yf it be as the story sais,
 He met with hir at elden tre. f.25a

He knelyd vpon his kne, 85
 Vndernethe a grene wode spraye,
 'louely lady, rewe on me,
 Quene of heuyn, as ye wele may.'

Then said that lady, mylde of
 bought,
 'Thomas, lat suche wordes be; 90
 ffor quene of heuyn am I not,
 I toke neuer so hye degre.

I am of a nothere contre,
 Thowgh I be perlyd moste in
 pryce,
 And ryde here after the wyld 95
 fe,
 My raches rennyng att my deuyce.'

'If pou be perled most in price,
 And ryde here in thy foly,
 louely lady, ware wyce,
 yeue me leue to lye the bye.' 100

She said, 'man, that were foly,
 I pray the, Thomas, lett me be,
 ffor I the say sekerelye,

Cambridge

But I speke with pat lady
 bright,
 I hope my hert wille breke in
 thre;
 But I will go with alle my
 myght,
 Hir to mete at eldryn tre.' 80

Thomas radly vp he rose,
 And ran ouer pat mownteyn hye;
 And certenly, as pe story sayes,
 He hir mette at eldryn tre.

He knelid downe vpon his kne, 85
 Vnderneth pe grenewode spray,
 'louely lady, pou rew on me,
 qwene of heuen, as pou well may.'

Than seid pat lady bright, f.120a
 'Thomas, let such wordis be; 90
 ffor quen of heuon am I noght,
 I toke neuer so hye degre.

But I am a lady of anoper
 cuntre,
 If I be parellid moost of
 pryce,
 I ride after pis wilde fee, 95
 My raches rannen at my deuyse.'

'If pou be pareld most of price,
 And ridis here in pi balye,
 Lufly lady, as pou art wyse,
 To gif me leue to lye pe by.' 100

'Do way, thomas, pat were foly,
 I pray pe hertely, let me be,
 ffor I say the securly,

Syn wolde pou for do al my
bewte.'
'A, lowly lady, reu one me,
And euer I wole with the dwell;
My trowche I plyght to the,
Whethere pou wylt to hevyn or
hell.'

'A, man of molde, pou wolte me
mare,
And yete pou shalte haue all thy
thy wyll,
But wete pou well, pou chece
hit the war,
ffor all my bewte pou wolte
spyll.' 120
A downe alyght that lady
bryght,
Vndernethe that grene wode
spraye,
And, as the story tellythe
ryght,
Seuen sythes by hir he laye.

'A, man, be lykythe wele thy
playe,- 125
Whate byrde in bowre may dele
with the?
Thou marrest me here this
long day,
I pray the, Thomas, me be.'

f.
Thomas stode vp in that stede, 25b
And behelde that shulde be gay 130 and beheld pat lady gay: 130

pat wolde for do my bewte.'
105 'lufly lady, pou rew on m(e), 105
And I shall euer more with be.
dwell;
Here my trowth I plight to be,
Wheder pou wilt to heuon or
hell.'

Man of molde, pou wilt (me)
marre,
But zet pou shalt haue t(hy)
wille,
But trow pou well, pou thry-
()st be warre,
ffor alle my beute pou wille 120
spille.' 120
Down pen light pat lady
brig(ht),
Vnderneth a grenewode spray,
And, as be story tellus ful f.120b
right,
Vij tymes be hir he lay.

125 She seid, 'thomas, pou likes 125
bi play,-
What byrde in boure may dwel
with be?
pou marris me here bis lefe
long day,
I pray the, thomas, let me be.'

Thomas stondand in pat sted,

Lansdowne

hure here honge aboute hir hede,
 here yene semyd out, that were
 And all hir clothyng were awaye,
 There she stode, in that stede,
 her colour blak, oper gray, 135
 And all hir body as betyn lede.

T(h)an said Thomas, 'alas, alas, 137
 This is a dewellfull sight,-
 Now is she fasyd in the face,
 That shone be fore as the sonne 140
 On euery syde he lokyde abowete,
 He sau he myght no whare fle;
 Sche woxe so grym and so stowte
 The dewyll he wende she had be.
 In the Name of the trynite, 145
 he coniuryde here anon ryght,
 That she shulde not come hym
 But wende away of his syght.
 She said, 'thomas, this is no nede,
 ffor fende of hell am I none; 150
 ffor the now am I grete desese,
 And suffre paynis many one.
 this xij mones pou shalt with
 And se the maner of my lyffe;
 for thy trowche thou hast me tan, 155

Cambridge

hir here pat hong vpon hir
 hir een semyd out, pat were so
 And alle hir clothis were a
 pat here before saw in pat
 be too be blak, be toper gray, 135
 be body bloo as beten leed.

Thomas seid, 'Alas, Alas, 137
 I(n) feith, pis is a delfull
 pat pou art so fadut in be
 pat before schone as sunne 140
 bright.

Thornton

Scho sayd, 'Thomas, take leue at
 sonne & Mone,
 And als at lefe pat grewes on
 tree,
 This twelmoneth sall pou with
 me gone,
 And Medill erthe sall pou none
 see.'
 He knelyd downe appone his knee,
 vndir nethe pat grenewod spraye,
 And sayd, 'lufly lady, rewe on mee,
 Mylde qwene of heuene, als pou
 beste maye.'
 'Allas,' he sayd, '& Wa es mee,-
 I trowe my dedis wyll wirke me
 care,-
 My saulle, Ihesu, by teche I the,
 Whedir some pat euer my banes
 sall fare.'
 Scho ledde hym in at Eldone
 hill,
 vndir nethe a derne lee,
 Where it was dirke als mydnyght
 myrke,
 And euer be water till his knee.
 The montenans of dayes three,
 he herd bot swoghyng of be
 flode;
 At be laste he sayde, 'full Wa
 es mee:
 Almaste I dye for fawte of
 f(ode).'
 Scho lede hym in till a faire
 herbere,
 Where frwte was g(ro)wa(nd . . . f.
 Pere and appill, bothe rypne pay
 were,
 The date, and als the damasee,
 be fygge, and als so be wyne-
 berye;

Cotton

. e, thomas, at son &
 mone,
 at gresse, & at euery tre,
 ethe sal pou with
 me gone,
 160 Medylert pou sall not se.' 160
 l wo is me,- 165
 I trowe my dedes will werke me
 care,-
 ake to pe,
 Whedir so euyr my body sal fare.'
 h with all hyr
 myzt,
 170 vndirnethe pat derne lee, 170
 s derke as at myd-
 nyzt,
 & euyr in watyr vnto be kne.
 of dayes thre,
 he herde bot swowyng of a
 flode;
 175 sayde, 'ful wo 175
 is me:
 nowe I spyll for fawte of
 fode.'
 she lede hym tyte,
per was fruyte gret plente;
 es per were rype, 150b
 180 be date & be damese, 180
 fylbert tre;

Lansdowne

Ayene pat may ye make no stryfe.

Tak thy leue of son and mone,

And the lefe that spryngyth on
tre;

This xij monthes pou most with
me gone,

Middyлле erthe pou shalt not
se. 160

'Alas,'he said,'full wo is me,- 165

I trowe my werkes wyll wryche
me care,-

My soule, Ihesu, I be take the,

Where on erthe my body shall
fare.'

She lede hym downe at elden
hyll, f.26a

Vnder neþh a derne le, 170

In weys derke that was full ylle,

And euer water vp to his kne.

The monetaynis of dayes thre,

he harde but swoyng of the
flode;

att the last he said,'full wo
is me: 175

All most I dye for defawte of
fode.'

Sche browght hym tyll a fayre
erbore,

Where fruyt growyd grete plente;

peres and apples, rype they were,

Datys, and the Damyse, 180

The fyges, and the pynnene fre;

Cambridge

Take pi leve, thomas, at sune &

And also at levys of eldryn
mone,
tre;

This twelmond shall pou with
me gon,

Patt mydul erth pou shalt not
se. 160

he knelyd dow(n) vpon his kne,

To mary mylde he made his
mone:

'lady, but pou rew on me,

Alle my games fro me ar gone.

Alas,'he seyde,'woo is me,- * 165

I trow my dedis wil wyrk me
woo,- * f.121a

Ihesu, my soule be teche I the,

Wher so euer my bonys shall
goo.'

She led hym to þe eldryn hill,

Vnder nethe þe grenewode lee, 170

wher hit was derk as any hell,

And euer water tille þe knee.

þer þe space of dayes thre,

he herd but þe noyse of þe
flode;

At þe last he seid,'wo is me: 175

Almost I dye for fowte of
fode.'

She led hym into a fay(re)
(h)erbere,

þer frute groande was gret
plente;

Peyres and appuls, bothe ripe
þei were,

þe darte, and also þe Damsyn 180

þe fygge, and also þe white
bery;

Thornton

The nyghtgales byggande on bair
 neste,
 be papeioyes faste abowte gane
 flye,
 And throstylls sange,wolde hafe
 no reste.
 He pressede to pulle frowyte 185
 with his hande,
 Als mane for fude bat was nere
 faynt;
 Scho sayd,'Thomas,pou late pame
 stande,
 Or ells be fende the will
 atteynt.
 If pou it plockk,sothely to saye,
 Thi saule gose to be fyre of 190
 helle;
 It commes neuer owte or domes-
 daye,
 Bot per in payne ay for to
 duelle.
 Thomas,sothely I the hyghte,
 Come lygge thyne hede downe on
 my knee;
 And sall se be fayreste syghte 195
bat euer sawe mane of thi
 contree.
 He did in hye als scho hym
 badde,
 Appone hir knee his hede he
 layde;
 ffor hir to paye he was full
 glade;
 and pane bat lady to hym 200
 sayde:
 'Seese pou nowe zone faire
 waye,
bat lygges ouer zone heghe
 mountayne?
 zone es be waye to heuene for
 aye,
 Whene synfull sawles are pass-
 ede per payne.
 Seese pou nowe zone oper waye, 205
bat lygges lawe bynethe zone
 rysse?
 zone es be waye,be sothe to
 saye,
 Vn to be joye of paradyse.

Cotton

be nyghtyngale bredynge in hyr
 neste,
 a bowte gan fle,
 be throstylkoke sange,wolde
 hafe no . . .
 pulle fruyt with 185
 hys hande,
 as man for fawte bat was . . .
 lat all stande,
 or els be deuyl wil be ataynte.
 tomas,I be hyzt,
 & lay pi hede vp on my knee;
 fayrer syzt 195
bat euyr sawe man in pu
 kontre.
 mas . . fayre waye,
bat lyggys ouyr zone fayre
 playn?
 ay to heuyn for
 ay,
 whan synfull sawles haf su. .
 as,zone secund 205
 waye,
bat ligges lawe vndir be
 r(ese)?
 ay,sothly to say,
 . to be loyes of paradyse.

Lansdowne

The nyghtyngalle byldyng hire nest,
The popyngay a bowte gan fle,
The throssell song, hauyng no rest.
Thomas presyd to pull the frute 185
As man for fode hadē been with his hand,
Sche said, 'Thomas, let that feynte;
or elles the dewele wole the ateynte.
yf pou pull there of asay,
Thowe myght be damned into hell; 90
Thowe commyst neuer owte agayne,
But euer in payn pou shalt dwell.
But Thomas, southly I the heght,
Come ley thy hed on my kne,
And pou shall se the farest sight 195
That euer saw man of thy contrey.

Seest thow yender that playn
way,
That lyeth ouer youre playn so
euyne?
That is the wey, sothely to say,
To the hight blysse of hewyn.
Seyst pou yendyr a nober way, 205
That lyeth yendyr vnder the
grene ryce?
That is the wey, sothely to say,
To the Ioye of paradyce.

Cambridge

pe nyghtyngale biggy(ng) hir nest,
be popyniaſ fast about gan flye,
be throſtill ſong,wolde (hou)e no reſt.
He preſed to pul be fr(ut)e 185
As man for fode w(as) n(yhonde feynte;
She ſeid,'thomas,let þem ſtanð,

Or ellis be rē..d . . .þe ateunte. f.
If þou pulle be ſothe to ſey, 121b'
bi ſoule goeth to be fyre of hell; 190
Hit c.....s neuer out til domesday,
But þer euer in payne to dwelle.'
She ſeid,'thomas,I be hight,
Come lay bi hed on my kne,
And þou ſhalle ſe pe feyreſt 195
þat euer ſaw man of þe cuntre.
He leyð down his hed as she hym badde,
His hed vpon hir kne he leide;
Hir to pleaſe he was full gladde;
And þen þat lady to hym ſhe ſeiðe, 200
'Sees þou zonder fayr way,
þat lyes ouer zonder mown-teyne?
yonder iſ þe way to heuen for ay,
Whan synful ſowlis haue duryd þer peyn.
Seeſt þou now,thomas,zonder 205
þat lyse law vnder zon riſe?
Wide iſ þe way,þe ſothe to ſay,
Into þe ioies of paradiſe.

Lansdowne

Seyst þou yender thrid way,
 That lyeth vnder that hye ^{f.}
 That is the way,sothely to ^{montayne?} 26b
 Where synfull soulis sofferis ^{say,}
 Seyst þou yendur forthere way,
 That lyeth yendur full fell?
 hit is the way,sothely to ^{saye,} 215
 To the byrnyng fyre of hell.
 Seist þou yonder that fayre ^{castell,}
 That standyth hye vpon that ^{hyll?}
 of townys and towris it berys ^{the bell,}
 on erthe is lyk non oper tyll. 220
 fforsothe,Thomas,that is myne ^{owne,}
 And the kyngis of this countre;
 Me were as goode be hengyd or ^{brent,}
 As he wyst þou layst me bye.
 When thou commyst to þe þendyr 225
 I pray the curtace man þou be;
 And what any man to the say,
 loke þou answere no man but me.
 My lorde is seruyd at the ^{Messe}
 With xxxti bolde barons and 230
 And I wyll say,sittyng at the ^{thre.}
 I toke the speche at elden tre.'
 Thomas stode styll as stone,
 And behelde this lady gay:

Cambridge

Sees þou 3onder thrid way,
 þat lyes ouer 3onder playne? 210
 3onder is þe way,þe sothe to
 þer synfull soules shalle drye ^{sey,}
 Sees þou now 3onder fourt way, f.122a
 þat lyes ouer 3onder felle?
 3onder is þe way,þe sothe to 215
 Vn to þe brennand fyre of hell.
 Sees þou now 3onder fayre ^{castell,}
 þat stondis vpon 3onder fayre ^{hill?}
 Off towne & toure it berith þe ^{bell,}
 In mydul erth is non like þer 220
 In faith,thomas,3onder is myne ^{owne,}
 And þe kingus of þis cuntre;
 but me were better be hengud
 þen he wist-þat þou lay be me.
 My lorde is serued at ilk(e) a 229
 With xxxti knyztis fayre (&) 230
 And I shalle say,sittyn(g) at 231
 I toke þi speche be 3onde þe 232
 Whan þou comes to 3onder 225
 I pray þe curtes man to be; 226
 And what so euer any man to 227
 Loke þou answer non but me.' 228
 Thomas stondyng in þat stode,
 and be helde þat lady gay:

Thornton

Cotton

- Scho come agayne als faire & . 235
 And also ryche one hir ^{gude,} palfraye. & also ryal on hyr 235
- Hir grewehundis fillide with
 Hir raches couplede, ^{dere blode,} by my faye; 250
 Scho blewe hir horne with mayne
 Vn to be castelle scho tuke be ^{& mode,}
 In to be haulle sothely scho ^{waye.}
 Thomas foloued at hir hande; ^{went,}
 Than ladyes come, bothe faire & 255
 With curtassye to hir knelande. ^{gent,}
 Harpe & fethill bothe pay fande,
 Getterne and als so be sawtrye,
 lutte and rybybe bothe gangande,
 And all manere of mynstralsye. 260
- pan was she fayre & ryche 235
 & also ryal on hyr
 be grewhondes had fylde baime
 & racches 250
 she blewe hyr horne thomas to
 & to be castel she t.
 be lady in to be hall went,
 thomas folowyd at hyr ha. . .
 par kept hyr mony a lady gent, 255
 With curtasy & lawe kne. . . .
 harpe & fedyl both he fande,
 be getern & be sawtery,
 lut & rybib per gon gange,
per was all maner of mynstralsy.

Lansdowne

Sche was as white as whelys ^{bone,} 235
 And as ryche on hir palefray.
 Thomas said, 'lady, wele is me,
 That euer I baide this day;
 Nowe ye bene so fayre and whyte,
 By fore ye war so blake and 240
 I pray you that ye wyll me say, ^{gray.}
 lady, yf thy wyll be,
 Why ye war so blake and gray, -
 ye said it was be cause of me.'
 'fforsothe, and I had not been 245
 Sertayne sothe I shall the ^{so, -} tell, -
 Me had been as good to goo ^{*f.27a}
 To the brynnyng fyre of hell.
 My lorde is so fers and fell,
 That is kyng of this contre, 250
 And full sone he wolde haue be ^{smell}
 Of the defeaute I did with the.'
 In to the hall worldely they ^{went,}
 Thomas folowde at hir honde;
 fforthe cam ladyes fayre and 255
 Curtesly ayene hir kneland. ^{gent,}
 Harpe and fythell bothe they ^{foynd,}
 The sytoll and the sawtery,
 The gyterne and rybbe gan goyn,
 And all maner of menstrally. 260

Cambridge

She was as feyre and as gode, 235
 And as riche on h(ir) palfray.
 Hir greyhoundis fillid with ^{pe dere blode,} f.122b
 Hir rachis coupuld, be my fay, 250
 She blew hir horne on hir ^{palfray} gode,
 And (to) be castell she toke ^{pe way.}
 Into a hall sothly she went,
 Thomas folud at hir hande;
 ladis came bothe faire & 255
 fful curtesly to hir kneland. ^{gent,}
 harpe and fidul both ^{fande,} ^{pei}
 be getern and also be sautry,
 be lute and be ribybe both ^{gangand,}
 And alle maner of mynstralcy. 260

285

be most ferly pat thomas^{thoght,}
 Whan he come o myddes.
 fourty hertes to quarry were
pat had ben be fore both s. . .^{bro3t,}
 lymors lay lapynge blode, . . . 265
 & kokes standyng with dress-
 ynge
 & dressyd dere as pai wer
 wode;
 & reuell was per wondir r. . .
 kny3tes dansyd by two & thre,
 all pat leue lange day; 270
 ladyes pat were gret of gre
 Sat & sangee of ryche aray.
 Thomas sawe more in pat place
 pan I kan discry,pard(e);
 Til on a day,-allas,allas,- 275
 My louely lady sayd to . .
 'buske be thomas,bou most
 a gayn,
 here bou may no la.
 hy be 3erne,at bou wer at
 hame,
 I sall be brynge to 280
thomas answerd with heuy
 chere,
 & sayd,'louely lady,l. . . .
 for I say be sertenly,here
 hafe I be bot be space of. .
 'Sothly,tomas,as I tell be, 285
bou hath ben here thre 3er .

Lansdowne

The noeste ferly that thomas
 hade,
 When he was stondyng on the
 flowre,
 The grettest hert of all hys
 londe,
 That was stronge, styfe and
 store.
 Raches lay lapyng of his blode, 265
 And kokes with dressyng kny wys
 a hande
 Trytlege the dere as they were
 wode;
 There was ryfe reuoll a monge.
 knyghtys dawnsyng by iiij and
 thre,
 There was reuell, game and play; 270
 louely ladyes, fayre and fre,
 Satte syttyng in a ryall araye.
 Thomas dwellyd in that place
 longer pan I sey, parde;
 Tyll one day by fyll that cace, 275
 To hym spake that ladyes fre:
 'Buske the Thomas, thou most
 ayene,
 for here pou may no lenger be.
 Hye the fast, with mode and 276
 mayne,
 I shalte the bryng at elden
 tre.'
 Thomas said with heuy chere,
 'louely lady, lat me be,
 ffor certaynlye, I haue ben
 here
 But the space of dayes thre.'
 fforsoth, Thomas, I woll the tell 285
 Thou hast been her iiij yere and
 more;

Cambridge

knyztis dawnsyng be thre & 269
 thre,
per was reuel, both game & 270
 play;
 (per) ware ladyes, fayre and fre, 271
 Dawnsyng (on ric) he aray. 272
 be grettist ferlye pat thomas 261
 thozt,
 when xxxti hartis ley (v)pon 262
 flore,
 And as mony de(re) in were 263
 broght,
pat was largely long & store. 264
 Rachis lay lappand on be dere 265
 blode,
 be cokys pei (stode with) dress-266
 yng knyves,
 brytnand be dere as pei were 267
 wode;
 Reuell was among pe(m) rife. 268
 ther was reuell, game & play, 273*
 More pan I yow say, pardye; *f123a
 Tille hit fel vpon a day, 275
 my lufly lady seid to me:
 'buske be thomas, for pou most
 gon,
 ffor here no longer mayst pou
 be.
 hye be fast, with mode and 276
 mone,
 I shalle be bryng to eldyn 280
 tre.'
 Thomas onswerid with heuy
 chere,
 'lufly lady, pou let me be,
 ffor certesly, I haue be here
 but be space of dayes th(re).'
 ffor sothe, thomas, I be telle, 285
pou hast bene here seuen yer
 & more;

Thornton

Bot langere here pou may noghte
duelle,
The skylle I sall be telle whare
fore:

To Morne, of helle be foule
fende
Amange this folke will feche his 290
fee;

And pou arte mekill mane and
hende,-
I trowe full wele he wolde chese
the.

ffor alle be golde pat euer may
bee,

ffro hethyne vn to be worldis
ende,

pou bese neuer be trayede for
mee;

pere fore with me I rede thou
wende.'

Scho broghte hym agayne to
Eldonne tree,

Vndir nethe pat grenewode spraye.

In huntlee bannkes es mery to
bee,

Whare fowles synges bothe nyght 300
& daye.

'fferre owtt in 3one Mountane
graye,

Thomas, my fawkone bygges a
neste;

A fawconne es an Erlis praye,

ffor thi in na place may he
reste.

ffare wele Thomas, I wend my 305
waye,

ffor me by houys ouer thir
benttis browne.'

loo, here a fytt; more es to saye,

All of Thomas of Erselldowne.

Cotton

& here pou may no langer be,

& I sall tell be a skele. . .

to morowe, of hell be foule
fende

a mang oure 290

for pou art a large man & an
hende,

trowe pou well

for all be golde pat may be,

fro hens vnto be wor.

295 sal pou not be bytrayed for 295
me;

& per for sall pou hens . . .'

She bro3t hym euyne to eldon
tre,

vndir neth be gre.

In huntlee bankes was fayre to
be,

per breddis syng 300

'fferre ouyr 3on montaynes
gray,

per hathe my facon

Lansdowne

And here pou may no lenger dwell,
 I shall the tell a skele where-
 fore:
 To morowe, a fowle fend of hell
 A mongis this folke shall chese 290
 his fe;
 And for thou arte long man and
 hende,
 I lewe wele he wyll haue the.
 And for all the goode that euer
 myght be,
 ffor heven to the worldis ende,
 Shalt pou neuer be bytrayed by 295
 me;
 There fore I rede the with me
 wend.
 She browght hym a geyn to elden
 tre,
 Vnder neth a grene wode spray.
 In huntely bankes is maner to
 be,
 Where fowlis syngith nyght and 300
 day.
 ffor ouere youre montayne
 graye,
 Where my fawconne beldith his
 nest;
 The fawcon is the herons pray,
 There fore in no place may she
 rest.
 ffaire wele Thomas, I wende my 305
 way,
 Me bous ouere yowre brwtes
 broume.
 here is a foott, and tway to
 say,
 Of Thomas of Arsildon.

Cambridge

ffor here no longer may bou dwell,
I shal tel þe the skyl wher-fore:
To morou, on of hel, a fowle fende,
Among þese ffolke shal chese his fee; 290
bou art a fayre man, and a hende,-
fful wel I wot he wil chese the.
ffor alle þe golde þat euer myght be,
ffro heuen vnto þe wordis ende,
bou beys neuer trayed for me; 295
ffor with me I rede the wende.
She broght hym agayn to eldyn-
tre,
Vnderneth þe (grene)wode spray.
In huntley bankis þis for to f. 123b
ther foulis syng þoþe nyzt & 300
ffor out ouer 3on mownten gray,
Thomas, a fowken makis his nest;
a fowkyn is an yrons pray,
ffor þei in place will haue no rest.
ffare wel thomas, I wende my way, 305
(f)for me most ouer 3on bentis brown.
This is a fyttē; twayn ar to sey,
Off thomas of erseltown.

Fytte II

'Fare wele Thomas, I wend my waye,
I may no lengare stande with the.'
'Gyff me a tokynyng, lady gaye,
That I may saye I spake with
the.'
'To harpe or carpe, whare so pou
gose,
Thomas, pou sall hafe pe chose
sothely.'
And he saide, 'harpyng kepe I 315
ffor tonge es chefe of myn-
stralsye.'
If pou will spelle, or tales
telle,
Thomas, pou sall neuer lesyng
lye.
Whare euer pou fare by frythe
or felle,
I praye the, speke none euyl of 320
me.
ffare wele Thomas, with owttyn
gyle,
I may no lengare duelle with
the.'
'lufly lady, habyde a while,
And telle pou me of some ferly.'
'Thomas, herkyne what I the 325
saye:
Whene a tree rote es dede,
The leues fadis pane & wytis
awaye,
& froyte it beris nane pane,
whyte ne rede.
Of pe baylliolf blod so sall
it falle:
It sall be lyke a rotyne tree; 330
The comyns & pe Barlays alle,
The Russells & pe ffresells free,
All sall pay fade and wye a
waye,-
Na ferly if pat froyte than
dye;

'Fare wele thomas, I wende my way,
 'I may no la. 310
 ' . . . me a tokyn, lady gay,
 If euyr I se 3ow w.
 '(To ha)rpe or carp, wher pat
bou sal hafe pi
 thomas sayde, 'harpyng kep I 315
 for tonge is che. non,

'(Fare) wele thomas, for nowe I
 I will no la(nger) sta. go,
 '(Louely) lady, wo is me so,
 a byde & tel me (some) fe. . . .
 '(Herken) thomas, as I be say, 325
 Whan be trees rote is de. . .
 (The leues) fallyth & wastyth
 it beryth no fruy. a way,
 balyoves blode be
 I lyken to be ro. fall,
 & pes elders all,
 all for soth a way

Fytte II

<p>'ffare wele Thomas, I wend my I may no langere dwell ^{way,} with ^{the.} 310 '(G)yf sum tokyne, my lady gay, f.28a That euer I saw the with my ye. To harp or carp, where euer I Thomas, pou shalt chese sothele. 'I, lady, harpyng wyll I none, 315 ffor townge is cheffe mynstral- yf bou wolte speke, or talis tell, lesynges shalt pou neuer lye. But where pou go by fryp or I pray the, speke no ewylle by ^{fell,} 320 ffare wele Thomas, I wend my wey, I may no langere dwell with the. 'yete, louely lady, goode and a byde and tell me more ferlye. '</p>	<p>'ffare wel thom(as), I wend may, I may no lenger stand with ^{the.} 310 'gif me sum tokyn, la(d)y gay, bat I may say I spake with ^{the.} 'To harpe or carpe, thomas, wher so euer ze gon, Thomas, take ye these with the. 'harpyng'he seid, 'ke(p)e I 315 ffor tong is chefe of myn- stralse. If pou wil spill, or talys Thomas, pou shal neuer make lye. Wher so euer pou gos be frith or felle, I pray pe, speke neuer no ille 320 of me. ffare wel, thomas, and (we)l pou be, I can no longer stand be by. 'louely lady, fayre & fre, tel me zet of som farley. 'Thomas, truly I be say, 325* Whan a tre rote is ded, *f.124a be levys fal & dwyne away; ffrute hit berys noder white nor red. So shalle bis folkys blode be fall: bat shal be like Jon roton tre; 330 be semewes & be telys all, be resull & be frechel fre, alle shalle falle & dwyn away,- No wonder pou3 be rote dy;</p>
--	--

heare begynethe þe i^j^d fytt I saye of Sir f.6a
Thomas of Arseldon.

'ffarewell thomas, I wend my waye,

I may no lenger dwell with the.' 310

'Guyve me som token, Lady gaye,

that I may saye I spake with the.'

'to harpe or carpe, whither thowe can,

thomas, þou shalt haue sothely.'

he said, 'herpinge kepe I none, . 315

for tonge is chief of mynstrelsy.'

'& þou wilt speake, & tales tell,

thowe shalt neuer leasyngge lye.

Whither þou walke by frythe or fell,

I pray the, speake none ivell by me. 320

ffarewell thomas, withouten gile,

I may no lenger abide with the.'

'Lovly lady, abide a while,

and som ferly tell thowe me.'

'thomas, herken what I shall saye: 325

when a tre rote is deade,

the leaves faden & fallen awaye,

ffruyt it beareth none on in elde.

the baly of blud it shalbe, 330

their comens & þer barons all,

the Russelles & þe fresselles fre,

all shall fade & fall awaye,-

no farly then if þat fruyt dye;

Thornton

Cotton

And mekill bale sall after
 Whare joye & blysse was wonte ^{spraye,}
 ffare wele Thomas, I wende m(y ^{t(o be).}
 waye),
 I may no langer stand w. . . .

'Now, lufly lady, gud

Telle me zitt of some ferly.' f.

'Whatkyns ferlys, Thomas gude,

Sold I be telle, and thi wills
 bee?'

'Telle me of this gentill blode:

Wha sall thrife, and wha sall
 thee,

Wha sall be kynge, wha sall be
 none,

And wha sall welde this northe
 cowntre,

Wha sall flee, & wha sall be
 tane,

And whare thir batells donne
 sall bee.'

Thomas, of a Batelle I sall be
 telle,

pat sall be done righte sone at
 wille:

Beryns sall mete, bothe fers &
 felle,

And freschely fighte at Eldone
 hille.

The Bretons blode sall vndir
 fete,

pe Bruyse blode sall wyne pe
 spraye.

Sex thowsande ynglysche, wele
 pou wete,

Sall there be slayne pat ilk
 daye.

ffare wele Thomas, I wende my
 waye,

To stande with the me thynk full
 irke.

Of a batell I will the saye,

pat sall be done at fawkirke.

335

(Farew)ele thomas, I wende my
 way,

I may no langer st.

' gentyl & gay,

f.

151b

a byde & tele me som 340

. [f242a

.

345

.

. weld pe north cun. .

.

. wher pes batels don sal b.'

.

350

p(at s)al be done ful son at 350

wyll:

. ryke & fell,

& freshly fyzt at halyndon

hyll.

355

. ende my way,

to stonde with pe me thynk

ful yrke.

. pe say,

360

pat sall be don at fawkyrke. 360

Lansdowne

'What kynne, Thomas, ferly gode
Wold ye fayn wete of me?'

'lady, of this gentyll blode,
Who shall pryue, and who shall
Who shalbe kyng, and who shall ^{be,}
And where any battell done ^{be none,}
Who shall be slaye, who shalbe ^{shall be,}
And who shall wyn the north ^{Tane,}
'Of a batell I shall the tell, ^{contre?'}

That shalbe done sone at wyl: 350
Barons shall mete, boith fers
And freslye fyght at halydowne ^{and fell,}
hyll.

ffare wele Thomas, I wende my
To stande here me thinke it ^{way,}
But of a batell I shall the say, ^{yrke.}
That shalbe don at faw chirch. 360

Cambridge

And mekill bale shal after ^{spray,} 335
per ioy and blisse were wont
ffare wel thomas, I wende my ^{to be.}
I may no longer stande ^{way,} be by.'

'lufly lady, gude and gay,
telle me zet of som ferly.' 340

'What kyns ferly, thomas gode,
Shuld I töl be, if pi wil be?'

'telle me of pis gentil blode:

Who shal thrife, and who shal
Who shal be kyng, who shall be ^{the,} 345
And who shal weld be north ^{non,}
Who shall fle, (&) who shall be ^{cuntre,}
And wher pis b(attel) don shall ^{tane,}
'Off a b. . . I . . . be tell, ^{be?'}

pat shall come sone at will: 350

Barons shall mete, both fro & ^{f.124b}
And fresshely fezt at ledyn ^{fell,}
the brutys blode shalle vnder ^{hill.}
the bretens blode shall wyn be ^{fall,}
^{spray.}

V. thowsand men per shalbe ^{slayn,} 355
Off scottysshe men, pat nyght
ffare wel thomas, I wende my ^{and day.}
to stande with the me thynk ^{way,}
Off be next bat(ell) I wil be ^{full yrke.}
^{say,}

pat shall be at faw kyrke. 360

and mykell bale shall after spraye,
 wheare that blis was wont to be.

f.6b⁶

farewell thomas, I wend my waye,
 I maye no lenger stande with the.'

'Lovly Lady, good & gaye,
 tell me yet of some farle.'

340

'what kyns farly, thomas good,
 shuld I the tell, if thi will be?'

'tell of the gentle blud,
 who shall vnthrive, & who shall the,

who shalbe kynge, who shalbe none,

345

who shall weld be northe contre,

who shall fle, who shalbe tane,

& wheare be battellz done shalbe.'

'of a battelle I will the telle,
 that shalbe done sonne at will:

350

birdes shall mete, bothe fresshe & fell,
 & fyersly fight at eldon hill.

the brusse blud shall vnder gonge,

the bretens shall wyne all be praye

thre thowsand scottes on be grownde

355

shalbe slayne that ilk daye.

farewell thomas, I wend my waye,

to stand with the me thynk it irk.

of a battell I will the saye,

that shalbe done at fowse kyrk.

360

Lansdowne

Baners shall stande there a
 longe,
 Trowe ye wele, with mode and
 mayne;
 The bratones blode shall vndere
 gange,
 V thowsand englysche there f.28b
 shalbe slayne.
 fare wele Thomas, I pray you 365
 sese,
 I may no langere dwele with the;
 My greyhondes brekyng here
 leyse,
 And my raches here cowples a
 thre.
 lo, where the dere by two and ij
 holdes owere youre montayn hye. 370
 'God forbeide' saide Thomas, 'pou
 fro me go,
 Or more of the warres pou tell
 me.'

Of a batale I shall the say,
 That shall make ladies morne in
 mode:
 Bankes bourne, wattere and
 clay,
 Shall be mengyd with mannys 380
 blode.
 Stedes shall snapre throwght
 tresoun,
 Bothe bay and browne, bresyll
 and gray,
 Gentyll knyghtes shall tumbell
 downe,
 Thwgh takyn of a wrong way.

Bretons blode shall vndere fall, 385
 The Ebruys there shall wynn the
 pray,

Cambridge

pe bretans blode shalle vnder
 fall,
 pe brouttys blode s(halle) wyn
 be spray;
 Vij thousynd Englysshe men
 grete & smalle,
 ther shalbe (sl)ayn p(at n)yght
 and day.
 ffare we(1)e (th)omas, (I) pray 365
 be sees,
 No longer here pou tary me;
 (Lo)wher my gray()dis breke
 per leesshe,
 My raches breke peir coupuls in
 thre.
 Lo, qwer be dere goos be too &
 too,
 And holdis ouer 3onde mownten 370
 hye.
 Thomas seid, 'god schi()
 goo,
 But telle me zet of sum ferly.
 holde pi greyhoundis in pi
 ho()
 And coupill pi raches to a (tre)
 And lat be dere reyke ouer pe 375*
 londe;
 ther is a herde in holtely. f125a

Off a batell I wil be say,
 pat shalle gar ladys mourne in
 mode:
 At barn(o)kys barne is water &
 (c)lay,
 pat shalbe myngyd with mannys 380
 blode;
 and stedys shalle stumbull fo(r)
 treson,
 bothe bay and brown, grisell &
 gray,
 And gentil knyztis shalle tom-
 bull down,
 thoro tokyn of pat wyckud way.

the bretans blode shalle vnder 385
 fall,
 the brutys blode shalle ()
 be spray,

baner³ shall stand, longe & longe,
 trowe pou well, with mode & mayne;
 the brusse blud shall vnder gonge, f.7a
 V thowsand scottes shalbe slayne.
 farewell thomas, I praye the cease, 365
 no lenger heare pou tary me;
 my greyhowndes breaken the flesshe,
 & my ratchettes their coupulles in thre.
 loke howe pe deare by ij & ij
 rvnn ouer yonder mountain high.' 370
 thomas said, 'god shild thowe goo,-
 but t(el)l me yet of som farly.'

'of a battell I will the saye,
 that shall garre ladies to morne in mode:
 at bannokburne, bothe water & claye,
 it shalbe mynged with red blud. 380
 steades shall stvmbull with treason,
with blak & browne, grysell & graye,
 & ientill knightes shall tvmbull downe,
 thurghe takinge of a wicked waye.
 pe bretens blud shall vnder fall, 385
 the brusse shall wyne all the praye

Thornton

sex thowsand ynglysche, grete & smalee,
Sall there be slane pat ilk a
daye.
Than sall scottland kyngles
stande,
Trow it wele pat I the saye; 390
A tercelet of the same lande
To bretane sall take be Redy
Waye,
And take tercelettis grete and
graye
With hym, owte of his awene con-
tree;
Thay sall wende on an ryche 395
arraye,
And come agayne by land and see.
He sall stroye the nqrthe con-
tree,
Mare and lesse, hym by forne;
ladyse sall saye, 'allas & walo-
waye,
pat euer pat Royalle blode was 400
borne!!
He sall ryse vpe at kynkehorne,
And tye be chippis vn to be
sande;
At dipplynge more, appone be
Morne,
lordis will thynke full lange
to stande.
By twix depplynge and the dales, 405
The watir pat rynnes ouer rede
claye,
There sall be slayne, for sothe
Thomas,
Eleuene thowsandez scottis pat
nyghte & daye.
Thay sall take a townne of grete
renownne,
pat standis nere the water of 410
Taye;
be ffadir & be sone sall be
dongene downe,
And with strakis strange be
slayne a waye.

Cotton

. al syng welaway 399
 þat euyr þe balyolues blod was 400
 kyngles be, bore.
 trowe þou wele, thomas, as I be 390
 I take flyzt & fle, say;
 to bruces lande, þe redy way.
 rseletes gret & gray
 With hym, of hys awn contre;
 n ryche aray, 395
 bothe by lande & eke by see.

 vp at kynche
 fele lordes vp on þe horn,
 ore, vp on þe sande;
 morn,
 lordes sal thynke ful lang
 to stand.
 & a dale, 405
 þat water of erne þat rynnes
 myche bale, gray,
 x thowsand scottes a nyzt &
 a day.
 wallyd toune,
 standynge ful nere þe water of 410
 yn a doune, tay;
 With sore dyntes be kyllyd a
 way.

Lansdowne

vij thousand ynglis, grete and
smalle,
 In a day there shalbe slay. t
 Then shall scotland kyngles be,
 Trou pou well that I the say, 390
 A tarslet shall take his flyght
& fle
 To bretons lande, the Redy wey,
 And take tarslettes grete and
gray
 With hym oute of his lond.
 He shall wende in a ryche aray, 395
 And come agaynn by seye and
londe.
 He shall stroye the north
contre,
 More and les, hym be forne,
 ladyes shall say, 'waleway,
 That euer in scotland war we 400
borne!
 He shall ryn vt at kyngeshorne,
 And sley lordis on the sonde; f129a
 At deplyng more, vpponn the
morowe,
 lordes shall thynke there long
stonde.
 By twyx duplyng and the gray 405
ston,
 The water that rynnes gray,
 There shalbe slaynn v thousand
englismen
 That nyght and that day.
 And yet they shall take a
walled towne,
 The fader and the sone be 410
slayn away;
 A knyght shall wyn the
warisoun
 With dynt of swerd for ones
and ay.

Cambridge

Vii] thousand englissh men,
grete & small,
ther shalbe slayn pat night &
day.

Sloane

vj thowsand Englishe, greate & small,
shalbe slayne bat ilk daye.

then shall scotland stande,
trowe thowe well, as I the saye,

390

a tarslet of the same land
to breten shall wynde be redy waye,
& take tarslettes greate & gaye
with him, owte of his awne contre.

thei shall winde in riche araye,
& comme againe by land & seye.

395*

*f.7b

he shall stroye be northe contre
moare & les him before;

lades welawaye shall crye,

bat euer be baly of blud was borne.

400

he shall ryse vp at kynkborne,
& slaye lordes vpon the sand;

to foplynge moore, vpon be morne,
lordes will think full longe to stand.

betwin be depplinge & be dasse,

405

be water per rennyng on be red claye,
per shalbe slayne, forsothe thomas,

xj thowsand scottes bat night & daye.

they shall take a towne of greate ~~benowne~~,
that standethe neare be water of taye;

410

the father & be sone shalbe donge downe,
with strokes stronge be slaine awaye.

Thornton

Whene pay hafe wonne bat wallede
 And ylke mane hase cheuede payre
 Than sall thir bretonns make
 And fare forthe to be werre of
 Than sall scotland kyng lesse
 And be lefte, Thomas, als I the
 Than sall a kyng be chosene, so
 That kane no lawes lede, par
 Daid, with care he sall be
 And with care he sall wende
 Lordis & ladyse, more and Myne,
 Sall come appone a riche araye,
 And crowne hym at the towne of
 Appone an certane solempe daye.
 Beryns balde, bothe zonge and
 Sall till hym drawe, with
 owttyne naye.
 Euyne he sall to ynglande ryde,
 Este and Weste, als lygges the
 waye.
 Be twixe a parke and an abbaye,
 A palesse, and a paresche kyrke,
 Thare sall your kyng faill of
 And of his lyfe be wondir irke.

Cotton

.pat is ful zynge;
420 he kan no lawes lede,parfay: 420
.he sal be gyn,
With sorowe sal he wende a
way.
.pes both more & myn,
al sal gedir to per a ray,
425at pe toune of 425
scoyne,
vp on pe trinyte Sondag.
.both zonge & alde,
sall fal to hym with owtyne 428
nay.
.sal he holde, 429
and bryn & sla al in hys w. .
430sal he ryde, 430
430 par sal he,pat ilke day, 430
.pat wondes wyde,
pat werne ful bolde in hyr
ar. .
.ke & an abbay,
a paleys,& a paryshe kyrke,
435yle of hys 435
pray,
& of hys lyfe he sal be yrke.

Lansdowne

Whan they haue take that wallyd
 And euery man has chosyn his
 The bretons blode shall make 415
 And fare to the warres of
 And then shall scottland be
 withoute kyng,

Trowe the wele that I the sey,
 They shall chese a kyng full
 That can not lede no laweys,
 Daid,with oute care he shall
 And with oute care he shall
 Bysshoppes and lordes,more and
 Shall comm to hym in ryche a
 And crowne hym at a towne of 425
 fforsothe vpon a Setterday.

Bornes blode shall wend to Rome,
 To get lyve of the pope,yf they
 may.

By twyخته a parke and ane
 A palys and a perishe church,
 There shall that kymg fayll at 435
 And of his lyfe he shall be full
 yrke.

Cambridge

pen shalle scotland kyngles be
 trow bis wel pat I be say,
 And thei shalle chese a kyng
 420opat can no lawes lede,parfay: 420
 Robert with care he shalbe
 And also he shall wynde . .
 away.

lordys and ladys,bothe olde &
 shalle draw to hym,with outyn
 nay,

And they with pryde to england
 Est and west,pe liggyest his 430
 And take a to(w)ne of mych
 And sle. . . . pe knyhte
 Be twene a parke & an abbay, f.125b
 An palys and a parisshe kyrke,
 ther shalle be kyng mys of his 435
 . . of his life be full yrke.

Sloane

when þei haue wonne þe walled towne,
 & euery man chosen his chaunce,
 þe bretens they shall make þem bowne, 415
 & forthe to þe warres of ffraunce.
 þen shall scotland with out kinge stand,
 beleve, thomas, as I the saye,
 thei shall chuse a kinge full yonge,
 þat can no lawes leade, parfaye, 420

& crowned at þe towne of scounne, 425
 on a serteine solemne daye. f.8a
 birdes bolde, bothe olde & yonge,
 shall to him drawe without naye.

into England shall thei ride,
 easte, weste, as ligges the waye. 430
 & take a towne with greate pride,
 & let þe men be slaine awaye.
 betwixt a parke & an abbaye,
 a pales, & a parishe kirke,
 there shall your kinge faile of his praye, 435
 & of his lyfe be full irk.

. in . . . ful sare,
so pat a way he may not fle.
. . . . l ren with myche care,
of rede blode, doune to hy. . . 440
. a fals fode,
betrayed of hys awne lande;
. ne to euy l or gode,
be sesyd in to a rauynes . . .
. be goshauke wyn, 445
be hyr fethyrs ne.
. reght to london with
per sal your foule hym,
. hyr fethyrs folde,
& take tar(sletes) 450

. hym mayst(y)r
in be north bold,
f.
. 242b

.
.
.
.
.
.
.
. en of dauy. . . .
.
. sall ryde & go hyr . .
.

Lansdowne

Cambridge

He shall be togged the wonde
 That away he maynot fle,^{sore,}

he shalbe teyryd ful wonder^{sore,}
 so a way he may not fle,

His nose shall rynne or he
 The blode shall trykle downe to^{thense go,} 440
 he shall,throwgt a fals fode,^{his kne.}

h(is) neb shall rise or he
 the red blode triklond to his^{then fare,} 440
 knee.

Be betrayde of his owne lond; f29b

Wherere it turne to ewyll or
 he shall abide a rauenes honde.^{good,}

The rauyne shall the goshawike 445
 Thowght his fedres be neuer so^{woym,}
 And lede hymm to londonn towne,^{blake,}

There shall the goshawke fynd
 The rawyn shall his fedres^{his make.}
 And take tasletis grete and 450
 gay,^{shake,}

The kyng shall hym maister make,
 In the north for to do outray.
 And whan he is most in his mayn,
 And best wenes for to spede,
 On a leylonde he shall be slayn, 455
 By side a wey,with out dred.
 And than most scotland,parfay,
 By se & land,mony one,
 ffor Dauid make certayn pay;
 But end of hym comyth neuer 460
 none.

he shalbe taggud wunder sare,
 so pat awaye he maye not fle.
 his nebbe shall, or he thens fare,
 of red blud trikell to be kne.
 he shall with a false fode,

440

whither it turne to ivell or goode,
 & he shall bide in a ravens hand.
 the ravin shall be Goshawke wynne,
 if his fethers be neuer so black,
 & leide him straye to London,
per shall your fawconn fynde his make.
 be ravin shall his fethers shake,
 & take tarslettes gaye & greate
with him owte of his awne contre,
 & be kinge shall him Master make,
 in be northe to do owtraye.

445

450

451

when he is mane of moste mayne,
 & hopes beste for to spede,
 on a leye land he shalbe slayne,
 beside a waye, with out drede.

f.8b

455

then shall they sell in scotland, parfaye,
 fowles & fee, full many one,
 for to make a sertein paye;
 But end perof commethe neuer none.

460

Thornton

And pane sall scotland kyngles
stande,
Trowe this wele pat I telle the,
Thre tercelettis of pe same
lande .
Sall stryfe to bygg & browke pe
tree.
He sall bygg & browke pe tree 465
That hase no flyghte to fley a
waye;

Cotton

pan sal scotlande kyngles . . .

 thre lordes of pat same londe

 pat hath no flyzt to fle a way;

Thay sall <u>with</u> pryde to ygland	471	in to p.	471
Este & weste als lygges ^{ryde,} be waye,		& bryn & sla day by day.	
Haly kyrke bese sett be syde,		To a towre <u>pan</u>	475
Relygyous byrnede on a fyre;		and hald <u>per</u> in myche ire.	476
Sythene sall pay to a castelle	475	holy chyrche is se.	473
And schewe pame <u>pore</u> <u>with</u> . . .		relegious pai bryn hym in a	474
By syde a Wyth.		fyre. bytwys a wethy & a water,	
A whyt.		a well & a haly stane,	
.		<u>per</u> sal two chyftans met in	
.		fere, be doglas <u>per</u> sall be s. . . .	480
.		a tarslet sal in halde be tane,	
.		chyftans a way <u>with</u> hy.	
.		& lede hym to an hold of stane,	
.		& close hym in a castel	
.		Whar wele thomas, I wend my way,	485

Lansdowne

Then most scotland kyngles
 stond,
Trowe the wele pat I say the,
A taslet of a nothere land
Shall pryue,& bygge,& browke
 pat tre.
He shall bygge and broke pat 465
 tre
He toke his flygh and flye a
 wey.
Robert steward kyng shalbe
of scotland,and regne mony a
 day.
A cheuanteyne then shall ryse f30a
 with pride,
off all scotland shall bere 470
 the floure,
he shall into Englonde ride,
And make men haue full sharpe
 schoure.
holy chirche to set on syde,
And religyous to bren on fyre;
he shall to the new castell 475
 ryde,
And shew hym there with grete
 Ire.
By twyx a way of watere,
A well,& a grey stone,
There cheuanteynes shall mete
 on fere,
And that o dowghty there shall 480
 be slayne.
That other cheuanteyne shall
 there be tayne,
And proude blode withe hyme
 shall fle,
And lede hyme tyll a worthe
 Towne,
And close hym vp in a castell
 hye,

ffare wele Thomas,I wend my 485
 wey.

Cambridge

be twene a wycked way & a
A parke,and a stony way then,,
ther shal a cheften mete in
A ful du(t)ey per shalbe
the toder cheftan shalbe
A pesans of blode hym shal
And lede hym a w(ay) in won,
And cloyse hym in a castell
ffare wel thomas,I wende my
way,

Sloane

þen shall scotland kingles stand,
 trowe þou well as I the saye,
 iij tarslettes of that same land
 to breten þen shall wend þer waye.
 he shall bigge & breake þe tre,
 þat hathe no flyght to fle awaye

465

þei shall with pride to england fre,
 easte & weste as lygges þe waye,
 holy kirk be sett beside,
 & religious men burnt in fyre.
 thei shall to a castell glide,
 & shewe þem there with mykell ire.
 betwixt a well & a weare,
 a withwell & a slyke stone,
 þer shall ij cheftens mete in fere,
 the on shall doughtles be slayne.

475

480

the brusse blud shall with him fle,
 & leade him to a worthi towne,
 and close him in a castell lyght,
 theare to be with greate renowme.
 ffarewell, I wend my waye,

484 f.9 a

485

Thornton

Cotton

.

me most ouyr zone b.
 anoper fyt; more is to say,
 of be prophecy of arseldoune.

Fytte III

*f.152b
 'Nowe, lufly lady, gente and hende,*

Telle me, 3if it thi willis bee, 490

Of thyes Batells, how pay schall
 ende,
 And whate schalle worthe of this
 northe countre?

'This worlde, Thomas, sothely to
 telle,
 Es noghte bot wondrethe & woghe;

Of a batelle I will the telle, 495

That schall be donne at spyngarde
 cloughe.

The bretons blode schalle vndir
 falle,

The bruyse blode schalle wyne be
 spraye.

Sex thowsande ynglysche, grete &
 smalle,

Salle thare be slayne pat nyghte 500
 & daye.

The rerewarde sall noghte weite,
 par faye,

Of that ilke dulfulle dede:

Thay sall make a grete journey,

Dayes tene, with owttyn drede.

And of a batelle I will be telle, 505

That sall be donne now sone at
 will.

Beryns sall mete bothe ferse &
 felle,

And freschely fyghte at pentland
 hyll.

'ffar wel thomas, I wende my
 way,

me most ouyr zone brou. . . . 490

sothly t., I be say,

men sal haf rome ryzt ny paire
 dor.

Sothly t., as I be say,

pis world sal stond on a
 wondir w. .

of a batel tel I be may, 495

pat sal be don at spyngkar cl..

be gret wreth sal not persay-
 uyd be

of pat gret vnk.

v thowsande slayn sal be

of scottis men, with outy. . . 500

fare wele t., I wend my way,

I may no langer stan.

'. . ly lady, gentyl & gay,

a byde & tel me more f. . . .

'Of a batel I can be tell, 505

pat sal be done hastely at . .

bernes sal met both fryk & fel,

& freschely fyzt at

Lansdowne

- Me bus ouer your brutes brome.'
Here is a fote;anoper to sey,
of Thomas of Assilldoun.

Cambridge

ffor I most ouer 3ond...
bentis brown.
 here ar twoo fyttis; on is to
 say,
 Off thomas of erseldown.

Fytte III

'ffare wele Thomas, I wend my way,
I may no longer duell with the.'490
'yet, louely lady, goode and gey,
A byde & tell me more ferele.'
And þus thomas, truly to tell,
hyt is wondrand & wow;
but of a batyll I shall the tell495
That shall be att spincar clow.
The bretonys blode there shall
vnderfall,
The Ebrues ther shall wyn the
pray.
V thousand ynglesch there, gret
& small,
In a sunday mornyng shall be 500
slay.
The fowarde shall not wit, par-
fey,
Certeyn of that dolfull dede:
They shall make agayne a grete
Iorney,
Dayes x, withouten drede.

Thomas, truly I be say,
Pis worlde is wonder wankill;
off be next batell I wyll the⁴⁹⁵
say,
(th)at shalbe done at spyn-
card hill.
the bruttys blode schall
vnder fall,
the brettens blode schall
wyne. . . . f.126a
xiiij thousand per shalbe
slayne,
off scottisshe men pat nyght 500
& day.

Off the next batell I will be 505
 telle,
pat shalbe done sone at will.
 Barons bothe flesshe & fell
 Shalle fressshely fyzt at
 pentland hyll.

Sloane

me behoves ouer yonder bent so browne.
 here endethe þe ijd fytt, I saye,
 of Sir thomas of Arseldon.

Fytte III

thies wordes, thomas, þat I saye,
 is but wanderyng & wough;
 of a battell I shall the tell,
 that shalbe done at Spenkard slough.
 the bretens blud shall vnder fall,
 the brusse blud shall wyne þe praye.
 vij thowsand englishe, greate & small,
 shalbe slayne þat ilk daye.
 the reareward shall not witt, parfaye,
 of þat same dolfull dede:
 thei shall make a greate iornaye,
 dayes x, without drede.
 of a battell I will you tell,
 that shalbe done sonne at will.
 barons shall mete bothe fyers & fell,
 & fyersly fight at Eldon hill.

495

500

505

[illegible]

by twys edynburgh & pentlande,
an hyl per stand. 510
per sal be slayn twelf thow-
sande
of Scottis
pan sal pai take a wallyd
toune,
fadir &
knyztes of yngland wyn pair 515
warysoune,
.
Whan pai haf tak pis wallyd
toune,
& ich man ha. . hym to hys.
chance,
pan sal pe br(e)tons make. . .
& fare in to pe werres of 520
fraunce.
pai sal be in france ful lang,
sothly t., thre 3er
& bet doune tounes & castels
strange,
to do owtr.
pan sal pai mete both styf & 525
strang,
by twys Seton
pe inglyshe sal lyg pe cragges
amange,
pe frenshe.
. . . es fast a way sal fle,
on a sonday be for p. 530
. . thowsande slayn sal be,
of bern(e)s both m.
. . (sal) no man wyn be prise,
sertenly (as) I tell p. .

Lansdowne

Cambridge

By twix Edenbrought and the ^{Pentland,} 130b but when pentland & edyn
 The hall that stond on the Rede ^{glay,} 510 And pe hill pat standis on pe ^{red clay,} 510
 There shall be slayne vij ml
 of scottes men that nyght & ^{day.}
 And yet they shall take a ^{walled Towne,}
 That stonde on the water of ^{Tay;}
 knyghtes shall wyne the waryson, 515

By dyntes of swerde, for ones & ^{aye.}
 And whan they haue toke that
 And eche man hathe take his ^{chance,}
 The britons blode shall make ^{hym boune,}
 and fare agan to werres of 520
 Then shall they be in fraunce ^{full longe,}
 Thomas, iij yere & more,

And dyng downe castellis & ^{towres stronge,}
 And then shall euery man home ^{fare.}
 They shall mete bope fers & ^{stronge,} 525

By twix Ceton and the see;
 the englyshe shall ly in ^{craggis amonge,}
 That othere oste at barkle.
 a sore semble there shall be,
 on a sondey by fore the Masse, 530
 v thousand shalne shall be,
 of bothe partes, more & lesse.
 ffor there shall no baner ^{presse,}
 bot fer in sundre shall they ^{be;}

but when pentland & edyn ^{borow,}
 And pe hill pat standis on pe ^{red clay,} 510
 Vij thousande per shalbe slayn ^{pore,}
 Off scottisshe men pat nyght ^{& day.}

then shalle they met(e) bathe 525
 stiff & strong,
 Be twene seton and pe see;
 the englisshe shalle lyg pe ^{cragys among,}
 the toper at pe est banke ^{falle hye.}
 the fflorence forth shall ^{(ffare),}
 vpon a sonday be fore the 530
 masse,
 v thousande per shalbe slayne,
 off bothe partyes, more and ^{lesse.}
 ffor pat per shall no barrons ^{presse,}
 but fer asonder s(hal)le they ^{be;}

betwin Edynburgh & pentland,
 at þe hall þat standethe on þe redd claye, 510
 there shalbe slayne xij thowsand,
 forsothe, of scottes þat night & daye.
 thei shall take a walled towne,
 the father & þe sonne bene slayne awaye, f.9b
 knightes shall wyne þer waryson 515
 thurghe dynt of swerd for euer & aye.
 when þei haue wonne the wallid towne,
 and euery mane chosen his chaunce,
 the bretens þen shall make them bowne,
 and forthe to þe warres of ffraunce. 520
 thei shalbe in fraunce full
 thomas, I saye, iij yeares & moare,
 and dyngedowne towerz & castelles stronge,
 to euery mann in sonder fare.
 then shall thei be bought full stronge, 525
 betwixt Seiton & þe seye,
 the bretens shalbe þe greaves amonge,
 the other este at Barwik fre.

 on a Sondaye before þe masse, 530
 v thowsand sothely slayne shalbe
 of brusse blud, bothe moare & les.
 for þat daye shuld no banerz presse,
 But farr in sonder shall thei be;

Thornton

Carefull sall be pe after mese, 535
By twixe Cetone and pe See.

Schippis sall stande appone pe
Sande,
Wayffande with pe Sees fame;

Thre zere and mare pan sall pay
stande,
Or any beryne come foche pame
hame.
Stedis awaye Maysterles sall
flynge,
Ouer pe Mountans too and fraa:

Thaire sadills one paire bakkis
sall hynges,
Vn to pe garthis be rotyne in
twaa.
Zitt sall pay hewe one alle pe
daye,
Vn to pe sonne be sett nere

weste;
Bot per es no wighte pat zitt
wiete maye
Wheper of thayme sall hafe pe
beste.
Thay sall plante downe paire
thare,
Worthi mene al nyghte sall dye; 550

Bot one pe Morne per sall be
care,
ffor nowper syde sall hafe pe
gree.
Than sall pay take a trewe, and
swere,
ffor thre zere & more, I vndir-
stande,
pat nane of pame sall oper dere, 555

. . . .by See ne zitt by lande.
. saynte Marye dayes,
. axes lange,
. Baners rayse,

Cotton

. . . . sal pat ost be aftyr 535
mes,
by twys seton &

.ppes sal be on pe strande,
Wall(yng wi)th pe s.

.zer & more per sal pai
stande,
540 no man to f. 540

.s maysterles a way sall
flynge,
to pe mountt.

.hyr bakkes sal
hynges,
to pe gyrthes be

. tt doune hir ban-
ers par,
550 & wondid men s. 550

.begynnyng care,
whan nober party s.

.ake a trew, &
swere,
thre (zer) & mor.

.

.

. (saynt mary dayes),

.

.

Lansdowne

Carefull shall be there last
By twyx ceton & the see. ^{masse,}

Shippes shall stonde ther on þe sonde,
hem selfe mene the the fome:

Seue yere & more theyr shall
 And no barne shall bryng hem they stonde, 540
 And stedes shall maisterles home.
 To the montayns them fro: fleng, f31a

the saddles shall on ther bakes
hyng,
Thyll the gerthes be rotten
them fro.
They shall hewe on all that
day,
Tyll the sonne be sett west;

Ther is no man that wete may
Which of them shall haue the
best

Cambridge

535 Carfull shalbe þe furst masse, 535
þe twene s(eton) & the see.

pen shalle be(1) fezt with
heimys & shyld there,
And woundyt men al eneglych
shal rone away. 550
but on be morne per schale . .

ffor ned(yr) s(i)de shalle
 haue þe gree.
 Then shalle þei take a truce & f.126b
 swere,
 thre ȝere and more, I vnder
 stonde,
 þat . . . side shalle odir dere, 555

Nouper be se nor be londe.

be twene twoo seynt mary dayes.

When þe tyme waxid nere long,

then shalle thei mete & banersee
rese.

Sloane

carefull shalbe the enter messe	535
betwin seytone & pe seye,	536
of pe brusse,bothe moare & les.	
shipp ₃ shall stand vpon the sande,	537
wavand with pe seye fome;	
thre yeares & moare,vnderstand,	f.10 a
or any barons fetche them home.	540
steades <u>masterles</u> shall flynge,	
to the mountains to & fro:	
<u>per</u> sadel ₃ on <u>per</u> backes hynges,	
till <u>per</u> girthes be rotten in to.	
thei shall hewe on helme & sheld,	545
to pe sonne be sett neare weste;	
no mann shall witt,in <u>pat</u> fyeld,	
whithether <u>partie</u> shall haue pe beste.	
thei shall caste downe banner ₃ there,	
wonden many one <u>pat</u> night shall dye;	550
vpon the morne there shalbe care,	
for neither <u>partie</u> shall haue pe degre.	
thei shall take a trewece,& sware,	
iiij yeares & moare,I vnderstand,	
<u>pat</u> none of them shall other dare,	555
neither by water ne by land.	
betwin ij Saint mary dayes,	
when pe tyme waxethe longe,	
then shall thei mete & banner ₃ raise,	

Thornton

Cotton

.re lande 560

.

Bot wiete wele, Thomas, he sall 572*
 fynd nan(e); f. 153a
 he sall lyghte whare be crose
 solde bee,
 and holde his nebbe vp to the
 skye,
 And drynke of gentill blode and
 free; 575
 pane ladys waylowaye sall crye.

Ther sall a lorde come to pat
 werre,
 pat sall be of full grete
 renownne,
 And in his Banere sall he bere,
 Triste it wele, a rede lyone. 580

Thar sall anoper come to pat
 werre,
 pat sall fyghte full fayre in
 And in his banere sall he ber(e)

A schippe with an ankyre of
 golde.
 zitt sall an oper come to pat 585
 werre,

.

f.
 243a

.

neb vp to be sky,

welaway sal cry.

In gleydes more, pat is so long; 560
 gladys more, pat gladis vs all,
 this is begynyng of oure gle;
 gret sorow pen shall fall,
 Wher rest and pees were wont
 to be.
 C(r)owned kyngus p(er sh)albe 565
 slayn,
 With dyntis sore, and wonder se;
 Out of a more a rauen shal cum
 And of hym a schrew shall flye,
 And seke pe more with owten
 rest,
 After a crosse is made of ston, 570
 Hye and low, bop est (a)nd west,
 but vp he shall fy(nde non).
 He shalle lizt per (the crosse)
 shuld be,
 And holde his neb vp to (pe)
 skye,
 And he shall drynk of 575
 ladys shall cry welawey.

Sloane

on claydon moore,bothe styf & stronge. 560

11j crowned kinges,with dyntes sore, 565
shalbe slayne,& vnder be.

a Raven shall comme ouer pe moore,
and after him a crowe shall flee,
to seke pe moore without reste,
after a crosse is made of stone, 570 f.10b

ouer hill & dale,bothe easte & weste,
but trowe pou well,he shall fynde none;
he shall lyght wheare pe crosse shuld be,
& holde his nebbe into pe skye,
& drynk of ientle blud & fre, 575
of doughti knightes pat downe shall lye.

Thornton

þat es noghte knawene by northe
 And in his Banere sall he bere
 A Wolfe with a nakede childe in
 zitt sall þe ferthe lorde come to
 þat sall grete Maystries after 590
 And in his B(anere sa)ll he
 The bere
 And þa.
 Wh.
 Bot 595
 þer
 An.
 Th.
 þe
 An. 600
 Be.
 Wh.
 Th.
 The.
 þa. 605
 v.

Cotton

.
 su(nn)e syt eyn weste,
yt may,
 whethir party sal hafe þe best.
 of þe forest,
 In south yngland born sal be, 610
 (f)or best,
 and al ledes bretayns sal be.

Lansdowne

Cambridge

A basterd shall come out of the
 And there he shall wyne the gre^{west,} 610
 He shall bothe Est and west,
 And all the lond breton shall be.

pen shal they f13t w1th he. . 605
 Vn to þe sun be set nere west. f.127a
þer is no wy3t in þat fylde,
þat wott1s qwylke side shall
 A bastarde shal cum fro a ^{haue þe bes(t).}
 Not in ynglond borne shall he 610
 And he shalle wyn þe gre for ^{be,}
 Alle men leder of breton shal ^{þe best,}
 he be.

frely pei shall fight pat daye,
to pat pe sonne be sett neare weste;
none of them shall witt, I saye,
whither partie shall haue pe beste.
a basted shall comme owte of a fforreste,
in sothe england borne shalbe,
he shall wyne pe gre för pe beste,
& all pe land after, bretens shalbe.

605

610

Thornton

Cotton

. al he ryde,
 est & west with myche tene,
 ment with myche 615
pat neuyr non sych be for was
 pryde,
 es he sal dyng downe,
 sene.
pat wer begun in hys cuntre;
 wirke he sal be bown,
 trewly, thomas, as I tell pe. 620
 owe pis ful wele,
pat pis is soth, euery worde;
 I can be telle,
pat sal be done at Sandyforde.
 forde par is a bro, 625
 & nere pe bro per is a well;
 standes pe welle
 euyñ fro,
 & nere it a ston, sothely to tell,
 pat ston growith okes thre,
pat men cal sandyforde; 630
 st batel (don) sal be,
thomas, trowe pou wele pis euery
 worde.
 s & clyffordes in
 w(erre) sal be,
 In bruces lande, thre zere &
 more,
 tones & castels fre; 635
 to do owtray pai sal not spare.

Lansdowne

he shall In to Englonde ryde,
 Est and west, in hys tyme,
 And hold a parlament of moche pryde, 615
 That neuer no parlament byfore was seyne.
 And fals lawes he shall ley doune,
 That ar goyng in that countre;
 And treu werkes he shall begyn,
 And bothe londes bretteyn shal be 620
 And thus is that I you tell,-
 belefe it wele, euery word;
 And of a baytale I wote full wele,
 That shalbe done at sawdyng-ford.
 By that forde there is a bro, 625
 And by that bro ther is a well;
 A stone there is a lityll there fro;
 And by the stone, sothe to tell,
 And at pat stone ar craggis 11j 629

End of MS Lansdowne

Cambridge

And with pride to ynglond ride,
 Est And west as.
 and holde a parlement ^{in certan,} with 615
 where neuer non before was ^{p...e,}
 alle false lawes he s(hall) . . .
pat ar begune in pat cuntre;
 Truly to wyrke he shalbe boun,
 And alle leder of bretteyn shal 620
 be ^{he be.} bastarde shal get hym power 637
 And alle his foes he shall doun 638
 Off alle be v kyngis landis, 639
per shal no bad(w)o(r)d home 640
 be bastard shal (d)ye in be 641
 trow pis we(l I) be sey,- 642
 Take his sowle .. his hond, 643
Ihesu crist, pat mycull may. 644
 Thomas, (tru)ly I be say, 621
pis is trewthe ylke worde,
 Off pat laste battel I be say,
 . . schall be don at sandeford.
 Nere sendyforth per is a wroo, f.127b
 And nere pat wro is a well; 626
 A ston per is, be wel euen fro,
 And nere be wel, truly to tell,
 On pat grounde, per groeth okys 630
 And is called sondyford. ^{thre,}

Sloane

then he shall into England ryde,
easte,weste,as we heare sayne.

all false lawes he shall laye downe,
pat ar begonne in pat contre;
trewthe to do he shalbe bone,
& all pe land after**er** bretens shalbe.

620

thomas,trowe pat I the tell,
that it be so,euer**ic**he word;
of a battell I shall the spell,
that shalbe done at sandyford.

ney pe forde **per** is a braye,
and ney pe braye **per** is a well;

625

f.11a

a stone **per** is,a lytell fraye,
& so **per** is,pe sothe to tell,-

628

thowe may trowe this,eue**ry** wurde,-
growand **per** be okes 11j,

632

629

that is called the sandyford;

630

per the laste battell done shalbe.

631

Remnerdes & Clyffordes bolde shalbe,

633

in Bruse land,11j yeares & mare,

& dyngedowne tower**3** & castell**3** high;

635

to do owtraye thei shall not spare.

pe basted shall gett him power**er** stronge;

Thornton

Cotton

. pat I be say, 642

be bastard sal de in be holy 641

lande,
. pou wele may, 644

sese hys sawle in to pi hande, 643

. d with myche 645
care,

be teres ran doune of hyr eyn

gr(ay);
' pou wepe so sare,

take pi houndes & wende pi w(ay).'

' my way wend-
yng,

Sothly thomas, as I be say, 650

. . . . s sal wed ladyes with
ryng,

Whan hyr lordes be s.

. des in stabil fed,

a fayr goshawk to hys ha(nd),

. to hys bed, 655

hys kyn be fore had neuyr lande.

. & wele be be,

al pis day pou wil me mare.'

.

of blake aunes of Dunbare; 660

. be ware;

& put me depe in hyr prisoune,

. with hyr,

Cambridge

per be last battel don shalbe,
 Thomas,trow pou ilke a worde.'

pen she sed with heuy chere, 645

be terys ran out of hir een gray.

'lady,or pou wepe so sore,

Take pi houndis & wend pi way.'

'I wepe not for my way walkyng,

Thomas,truly I be say, 650

but fer ladys shall w(e)d laddys

when per lordis ar ded (a)way^{3ong,}

he shall haue a stede in stabul fed,

A hauke to beyre vpon his hand,

A bright lady to his (be)d, 655

pa(t) be fore had non (lan)de.

ffa(re) wel thomas,I (wend)e my way,

Alle pis day pou wil me m. . .'

'lufly lady,tel pou me

Off blake Agn(e)s of Don. . 660

And why she haue gyvon me be warre,f.128a

And put me in hir prison depe;

ffor I wolde dwel with hir,

all þe fyue leishe lande;	639
there shall not on him bod <u>w</u> ord brynge,	640
as I am for to vnderstand.	
þe basted shall die in þe holly lande,	641
Thesu <u>C</u> riste þat mykell maye	644
his sowle þ <u>o</u> u take into þi hande,	643
when he is deade & layed in claye.'	
& as she tolde at the laste,	645
þe teares fell ou <u>e</u> r hir eyen graye.	
'Lady, or you wepe so faste,	
take y <u>o</u> ur leave & goo y <u>o</u> ur waye.'	
'I wepe not for my waye wyndinge,	
but for ladyes faire & fre,	650
when lordes bene deade, w <u>it</u> hout leasyng,	
shall wedd yomen of poore degre.	
he shall haue steades in stabull fedd,	f.11b
a hawke to bare vpon his hand,	
a lovly lady to his bedd,-	655
his elders before him had no land.	
farewell thomas, well the be,	
for all this daye thowe wilt me marr.'	
'nowe, lovly Lady, tell thowe me	
of blak annes of Dvnbarr.'	

Thornton

To hunntlee bannkkis pou take
(T)here sall I sekirly be ^{the way:}
. .mete the,Thomas,whene I ^{bowne,}
^{maye.}

. . ll be kenne,whare euer pou
. . . e be pryce of curtaysye;
. . . nge es wele,& tunge es
. . .ge es chefe of Mynstrall-
^{waa,}
^{sy.}

Cotton

sothely lady at arsyldoun.'

.e neuyr gode, 665

thomas,sche may do not to be;

.& wordely gode,

In london sal she closyd be.

.xt of hyr
blode,

In a foule dyke sal sche dye; 670

.sal haf her fode,

mawgre of al hyr kyn & she.'

. . . . a drery man was he,

pe teres ran of his eyn g. . .

!y tel pou me, 675

if we sal part for onys & ay?'

.at arsildoune,

to huntly bankes tak pi w. . .

.edy boune,

to mete pe par,if pat I may. 680

.ende my way,

I may no langer stande with pe;

.pe pray,

tel neuyr pi frendes at home of
me.

.a lady fre.685

I sal pe comfort,where pat pou
go,

.profe of curt-
asy;

tong is wele,& tong

.e of (myn)stralsy,

Cambridge

And kepe hir ploos and hir she. . '

'Off blak Agnes cum neuer gode, 665

Wher for, thomas, she may not the;

ffor al hir welth and hir wordly gode,

In london cloyed shal she be.

per preuysse neuer gode of hir blode,-

In a dyke pen shall she dye; 670

Houndis of hir shall haue per fode,

magrat of all hir kyng of le.'

pen thomas, a sory man was he,

pe terys ran out of his een gray;

'lufly lady, 3et (tel pou) me, 675

If we shall p(art for) euer and ay?'

'Nay, when pou sittis at erseldown,

to hunteley b(ankes) pou take thi way,

And per shal I (be re)dy bown

To mete pe, tho . . , if pat I may.' 680

of blak annes comme neuer gode, 665
 therfor may she neuer the;
 for all hir welthe & worldes gode,
 in london shall she slayne be.
 the greateste merchaunte of hir blud,
 in a dike shall he dye; 670
 houndes of him shall take per fode,
 mawger all per kynne & he.'
 thomas, drere mann was he,
 teares fell ouer his eyen so graye;
 'nowe, lovly lady, tell pou me, 675
 if we shall parte for euer & aye?'
 'naye,' she said, 'thomas, parde,
 when thoue sitteste in Arseldon,
 to hontley bank pou take pe waye,
per shall I sykerly to the recomme. 680

I shall reken wheare euer I goo, 686
 to beare the price of curtese.'
 and thus departed she & he. 696

ffinis

Thornton

Cotton

tong is water, & tong is wyn(e), 690

. of . . ody,

& tong is thyng pat fast wil 692

bynd.'

. forth pat lady

gay,

vpon hyr wayes for to w. . . .

. horn on hyr 693

palfray,

& lefte thomas vndir a . .

. . . . we hir horne on hir
 e Thomas vndir nethe a tre;
 ale scho take the waye, 695

. . . . departede scho and hee.

. . . . an hird mane wolde I
 here,

. Me telle of swilke
 ferly.

. . . . corounde with a crowne of
 brere,

. . nge vs to his heuene so hyee. 700 bryng vs to pi ha. 700

amene amene.

Explicit Thomas

Of Erseledownne

. hecia thome de

Arseldoune

She b(le)w . . horne on hir
 And lef. . .thomas at eldyrn . .^{palfray,}
 Til helmesdale she toke pe w(ay),^{f.} 128b
 A(n)d thus departed pat lady and 696
 Off such a woman wold I here,^{he.}
 That couth telle me of such
Thesu, crowned with thorne so^{ferly.}
 Bryng vs to thy hall on hye.^{clere,} 700

Explicit

VII

NOTES

NOTES ON THE TEXT

- 8 blyne. Cf. 'Yf ye wylle a stounde blynne
Of a story y wylle begynne.' 4-5, Sir Tryam.
- 9 saye:sere. The original was probably here:sere.
- 10 Cf. '. . . .mony knyzt hardy
'Pat douzty were of dede.' 2439 Amis & Amil.
- 12 Cf. 'Owthyr schalle he sle me sone,
Or on hym y schalle wynne my schone.' 1236-7 Sir Tryam.
' . . .pou sall wynn thi schone
Appon be sowdane.' 1595-6 Sir Percev.
- 15 Cf. 'I schal telle hit as tit as I in toun herde.' 31 G. & G.K.
- 25 Cf. 'This ender day as I gan fare' 381 Gower, Conf. II.
Lahs. this thender day. Cf. be pendyr castell 225. A tautological
form: thender = be yender. Cf. her thuder Machyn's Diary.
Co. 25-28. This passage varies from the version of the other MSS
the month is not mentioned, nor is the fact that the incidents
described took place very recently (T pis Endres daye). This el-
iminates the time-confusion of the other versions.
- 26 Co. grykyng. Cf. 'In be grikinge rise sal I'. 2 c. vii E.E.Ps.
- 28 Cf. 'But forth he went hymselfe alone.' 531 S.L.D.
- 29-32 Cf. the many similar descriptions in other works:
'Early in that May morning
Merrely when the burds can sing
the throstlecocke, the Nightingale,
the laueracke & the wild woodhall.' 919-922 Eger & Grime.
'Ther bep briddes mani and fele,
prostil, pruissh, and niztingale,
Chalandre and wodwale.' 95-7 Land of Cockagne.
Cf. also Chaucer's parody of this convention in Sir Thopas:

'The briddes singe, it is no nay,
 The sparhawk and the papelay,
 That Ioye it was to here;
 The thrustelcok made eek his lay,
 The wodedowve upon the spray,
 She sang ful loud and clere.' 55-60.

For 31-2, cf. 'So merily pan gon pai sing

Pat al þe wode bigan to ring.' 394-5 Yw. & Gaw.

The wodewale may be either an oriole or a woodpecker. The Gloss.
W. de Bibbesw. (c.1325) glosses 'l'oriol' as a wodewale; but
Eden (Decades 224) writes: 'Byrdes. . . somewhat lyke vnto those
 which we caule woodwaules, or woodpeckes.'

Lans. 29 substitutes meryll for the throstyll of the other MSS,
 and shawys for wode 32. Maner 30 is a corruption of mavys.

34 T Lans. semely tree. Cf.

'Pere sai he semliche tres wiþ þe sonne woxe.' 115 Alex. & D.

38 T wrobbe and wrye. Co. wrabbe. Meaning obscure. Wrye may be from
 OE wrēgan, 'to stir up, accuse', or from OE wrīgian 'to twist',
 cf. '. . . somewhat thy face from hyre thou wry.' Co. Claud. A II.
Wrobbe is perhaps 'to deceive'. Cf. the obsolete adj. wrabbed,
 'perverse, difficult to manage': 'so waywarde & wrabbed', Hey-
 wood, Four P.P. 986 (1540).

The whole phrase carries an implication 'to distort the truth,
 to deceive.' Cf.

'Wreieres and wrobberes made he falle.' 39 Havel.

49 T roelle Ca. reuyll Co. rewel Lans. ryall. An unknown material
 which occurs frequently in the romances. W. W. Skeat suggests
 that it is 'L. rotella, Fr. rouelle, i.e. a bone rounded and pol-
 ished for the front or peak of the saddle.' But the substance

seems to have been used for decoration generally. The NED suggests 'ivory' (AF roal). The following quotations give some idea of the uses to which it was put:

'His sadel was of rewel-bone.' 167 Sir Thopas.

'briht so sonne on Rouwel bon.' 634 Gregorius.

'His cot armour is seyn in mony steid,

Ay bataill boun, and riwell ay off reid.' 106 ix Henry Wall.

'...a garland on hir hed full of ruell bones.' st. 10 Tourn.
of Tott.

'The hall was properly apperrellit..

The rufe reulit about in reuall of Reid.' 670 Rauf. Coil.

'She's gien him a steed was good in need,

An a saddle o royal bone.' Ballad of Young Beichan.

53 T stones of Oryente. Cf.

'Ye ware the pery on your head

With stones full oryent.' 719-720 S.L.D.

Lans. oryoles. Cf. 'And his Nekke is zalow, afre colour of an Orielle, that is a Ston well schynyng.' 48 V Maundeville.

Lans.

54-64 This passage differs in several points from the version of the other MSS. 55-6 are omitted by Lans, and replaced by 71-2, which are omitted in their proper place. By this, and the crude alteration of 54, the attractive description in the original stanza has been lost. 57 treblyd. Cf.

'I here trumpys trebelen al of tene.' 1900 Cast. Persev.

57-64 T, Ca. Cf.

'his petrill was of silke of Inde

His steed was of a furley kinde,

with raines of silke raught to his hand

with bells of gold theratt ringand.' 973-6 Eger & Grime.

'His crouper heeng al full off belles

And hys peytrel and hys arsoun.' 5713 Coer de Lion.

'The Sadles

With Perle and gold so wel begon.' 41 Gower, Conf. II.

60 Co. sendell. Cf.

'His horse withe sendale was teldede.' 373 Awnt. Arth.

61 T Irale fyne. 'The original was probably Iral-stane, rhyming with schane.' (Murray). Cf.

'Stones of iral they strenkel and strewe.' 576 Awnt. Arth.
Iral may possibly be a variant of iris, 'crystal'; cf. Maundev.
xxviii 219 : 'The white ben of cristalle and of berylle and of
Iris.'

A stone called Iren is mentioned in the Peterborough Lapidary
99. It is found 'in pe lapwynche nest'; an editorial note says:

'Apparently the same stone as Pseudo-Mandeville's quirin, "trou-
vee au nid de la huppe."'

Ca riall. Cf. Lans. 49 ryall bone, and

'The rowelle whas red golde with ryalle stonys' 3263 Morte A.

62 T Orphare. OF orfreis, from L. auriphrygium, 'gold embroidery'; the
meaning was extended to cover any rich embroidery. Cf. 'Clothes
dyapred of red selk all wrought with gold and the orfrayes sett
full of gret perl and precious stones.' 233 xxii Maundev. The
form with the final-s is more common.

67-8 Ca. Written in the right-hand margin opposite 66, which is fol-
lowed without a break by 71. There is an omission-mark in the
form of a V in the left-hand margin opposite the latter line.
69-70 are written at the foot of the page, immediately follow-
ing 88. 67-68 occur in Ca. only. Possibly they were composed in
order to give a better rhyme than ron:flonne.

- 69-71 tell:halce.Lans. 69 may originally have read as the story tells,
which would give a fair rhyme.
- 71 Cf. 'A horne about his necke he caste' 309 (c) S.L.D.
'A grette horne aboute his hals' 2432 (a) Ipom.
- 72 flone. None of the MSS make any mention of a bow.
- 75-6 Cf. 'A fayrere creature was never nane
Bot it ware Mary free.' 884-5 Sir Eglam.
- 78 Cf. 'Hym thought his hert wold to-breke
But if he myght se that mayde.' 142-3 Ipom.
'Bot 3if y may wip me broper go
Mine hert it brekep of pre.' 263-4 Amis & Amil.
- 80 T Eldoune tree Lans.Elden. 'A solitary tree that formerly stood
on the slope of one of the three Eildon Hills near Melrose. .'
(Murray). Ca.eldryn tre. The writer of this MS does not under-
stand the reference. 'eldryn = eldern, like oaken, beechen.'
(Murray). But the NED quotes no example of eldern in this sense
earlier than the 17th century. The meaning here is perhaps
eldrin = 'old'. Or the writer may possibly have used it in a
sense similar to eldritch, 'elfin', which would suit the con-
text admirably; but such a form is not given in the NED.
- 83 als the storye sayes. The phrase occurs very frequently in the
romances, and may have been used here merely as a literary con-
vention; but see Introduction.
- 89 Ca. bright. T and Lans. milde of thoghte. The Ca. version is
carried over from 77.
- 93 ane oper countree. The words fairy, elf, elfland are not mention-
ed throughout the poem.
- 94 moste of prysse. Cf.
'pu art kni3t of muchel pris' 898 King Horn.

'To watche that lady muche of pryce' 417 S.L.D.

95 T this wylde fee. Fee may be a collective noun, as in this folke
290; but this is frequently used for the plural in ME. Cf. 'pis
wilde bestes' R. Glouc. (1297).

96 devyse. Cf. ' . . servyd the quene at hyr devyse' 716 Ipom.

'Now hath the devylle alle hys devys' 235 PPS II (1456).

97 T pryse. Also smalee T387 messee T 530 hyee T 700. The double
e is orthographical, and does not indicate that the final e
was pronounced. Compare senttee 'sent', Paston Letters 1444.

98 Ca. in pi balye. Scribal mistake for folye. Balye is properly
the outer court of a castle, here presumably extended to mean
the area over which the lady has jurisdiction.

101 Ca. Do way. Cf.

'Do way, seyde the emperowre' 3097 Guy of Warw.

'Tho the kyng said, My doughter, do way.' 1789 Torrent of P.
109-116 Co. only. From the style and diction, these lines cannot be much
later than the rest of the text. Co. does not appear to derive
from the same text as T, Ca., and Lans.; its variations are gen-
erally unsupported by any of these. Fytte I is probably a short-
ened and simplified version of an earlier, longer romance, (see
Introduction), and it is possible that these lines have been
retained from the earlier version. I cannot agree with Murray
that they 'are not in keeping with the context'. The same note
is sounded in all the other MSS at 320,

I praye the speke none euyl of me.

(This line is omitted by Co., which, however, has a similar line
at the end of the poem:

tel neuyr pi frendes at home of me 684).

115-6 are a good antithesis to 293-5, where the position is re-
versed.

126 Ca. lefe long.Cf.

'Thus thai hurteled togedere

Alle the lefe longe daye.' 319 xxxix Lonelich Grail.

132 pat are were graye.Grey eyes were a conventional attribute of mediaeval beauty.Cf.

'Hur eyen were gray as any glas.' 343 Erl of Toul.

Co.be sorow cannot be a corruption of the correct version.This variant,and many others,must be due to a slightly different original.

133-6 Cf. 'Bare was hir body and blake to the bone' 93 Awnt.Arth.

'Pan wox pe lady, blew and wan' 2458 Amis & Amil.

'Now thou arte as pale as beaten leade' 150 (P) S.L.D.

Ca.136 originally read

And alle h(ir) body like pe leede

as in T.This has been erased,and the present line written in the right-hand margin.

141-156 Lans.only.These lines are probably a later addition.The metre is halting,and the rhymes poor.nere 147 is corrupt from nigh to rhyme with trynite 145.gang 153 must be corrupt from gane, to rhyme with tan 155.The form gane proves that the passage is Nth.in origin.

159 This twelmoneth.So all MSS.Thomas' stay in the oper countree actually lasted thre zere & more T Co. and Lans.286,or seuen zere Ca.286.The latter is found in the ballad versions (see Appendix I)and is the conventional period.Cf. Border Minstrelsy II 114 :'"It happened"says Debes,"a good while since,when the burghers of Bergen had the commerce of Feroe,that there was a man in. Servaade,called Jonas Soideman,who was kept by spirits in a mountain during the space of seven years,and at length came out."'

160 T none see. The earliest instance of this use of non for 'not' given by the NED is in 1651. But cf. 'your noun comyng hedir' Paston Letters (1444).

161-4 Co. and Lans. omit Thomas' prayer. 162 'Ca. has a remarkable variation, bringing out more clearly that Thomas invokes, not the lady, but the "Queene of Heuene, Mary mylde."' (Murray).

167 Cf. 'I you betiche bothe to heuen King' 770 Guy of Warw.

171 Cf. 'The daye waxe als dirke

Als it were mydnyghte myrke.' 68-9 Awnt. Arth.

The MSS differ; all the versions may be corruptions of the original, or T may be correct, and the variants of the other MSS attempts to find a rhyme for 169. Ca. originally had the same version as T, but this has been erased, like 136, and another version substituted.

174 swoghyng. Cf.

' . . by þe stremys so strange þat swyftly swoghes' 57 Awnt. Arth.

'Of þe see he herde a swoghe' 371 Sir Eglam.

'And with þe swoghe of þe see in swefnyng he felle' 759 Morte Arth.

177-183 The faire herbere was a popular convention, originating in the Roman de la Rose. Cf.

'þer weore Pope-iayes prest

Nightyngales vpon nest

Blypest briddes o þe best . .

þer weore growyng so grene

þe Date wip þe Damasene.' 75-7, 88-9 Pystil of Swete Susan.

'And in that gardyn as I wene,

was an arbor fayre and grene. .

The date, and also the damyse. .

The fygge tree and the mapull rounde,

On euery braunche satte byrdes three

Syngynge with grete melodye,

The laueroke and the nyghtyngale. .

The pye and the popyngaye,

The throstell sange both nyght an(d) daye.' 27-48 S.L.D.

182 Co. bredynge. 'brooding'. Cf. 'In eche roche per ys. . an ernes
nest, pat hii bredep in ywys.' 177 R. Glouc.

186 Co. fawte. Corrupt for fode or fude.

206 rysse. Lit. 'twigs, brushwood'; here 'wood'. Cf.

'To ride an hunting vnder riis'. 136 Amis & Amil.

'To the herte and to the hare

That bredus in the rise.' st. 2 Avowing of Arth.

207 Ca. Wide is pe way. Murray reads zondur is pe way. Though there
is a similarity, in the handwriting of the MS, between the words
wide and zondur, there can be no doubt in this case: the line
is very clearly written, and the form of the w is identical with
that in whan 204. It seems probable that the Ca. version is due
to the writer's misreading of the word zonder in his copy; the
way to Paradise is conventionally presented as ⁺srait and narrow.
Cf. the ballad version:

'O see ye not yon narrow road

So thick beset wi' thorns and briers'.

209-212 Co. omits the way to Purgatory.

219 beris pe belle. Cf.

'For alle her rayment she bare the bell

Of fowlnesse.' 596-7 Weddyng of Sir Gaw.

228 A precaution against any indiscretion on the part of Thomas,

but probably also a reference to the danger of speaking to fairies. See Introduction (Analysis of the Narrative).

229-230 'Those who served at the table . . . were . . . never less than esquires, and often, in the halls of princes and great chiefs, nobles and barons.' (T. Wright : Domestic Manners p.152).

230 Lans. 'This jingling combination of numbers distinguishes the later prophecies, and modern-antique ballads, but is not found in the earlier.' (Murray).

232 T the see Ca. pe lee Lans. elden tre. Any of these may be the original.

235 Lans. Cf.

'Hur hondys whyte as whallys bone' 358 Erl of Toul.

237-252 Lans. These lines are of the same style as 141-156, and were probably added at the same time.

251 T with mayne & mode, Ca. on hir palfray gode, Co. thomas to chere.
T is probably the original version, but Co. is rather attractive.

253 Lans. worldely. I can find no parallel to this. It presumably means 'with pomp'.

257-9 Cf. 'He was fayre man and free,

And gretlech yaff hym to gle,

To harp and to sautre,

And geterne full gay.' 33-6 Sir Degr.

'There (was) all manner of minstrelsy,

Harpe, gyttorne & sawtrye.' 465-6 Carle off Carlyle.

'There was myrth and melody,

With harpe, getron, and sautry,

With rote, ribible . . . ' 1069-1071 S.L.D.

Absolon the parish clerk, in Chaucer's Miller's Tale, could

' . . . playen songes on a small rubible . . .

'And as wel koude he pleye on his giterne.'

263 Co.to quarry.More forceful than T and Ca.Cf.'Alle þe while that
þe huntynge lasteth shulde þe cartes go aboute fro place to
place to brynge deer to þe quirre.' xxxv Master of Game (c.1400)

265 Co.lymors.Other MSS raches.

267 T brittened Ca.brytnand.Britten = to cut up an animal after
the hunt.Cf.

'To bryttyn þe bare pay went full tite' 487 Sir Eglam.

'He brittunt bercelettus bold' 7 Avowing of Arth.

Trytlege (Lans.) is a scribal misreading .

273 T solace.Cf.

'Ilkane with oper made grete gamin

And grete solace.' 24 Yw.& Gaw.

'And ilk day had þai solace sere' 1443 Yw.& Gaw.

276 For the change of person,see Introduction.Lans.alone retains
the third person.

277-9 Ca.gon : mode and mone.mayn is crossed out,and mone written
above it.T and Lans.read mayne,Co.hame,rhyming with agayn.Ca.
has made a pseudo-southern form of mayn in order to obtain a
rhyme for gon.Compare tone = tane,pp.vb.take.

279 Cf. '. wende thy way

And hye the fast on thy iournay.' 269-270 S.L.D.

289 It was a folk-lore belief that the fairies paid 'teind' or 'kane'
to hell at fixed intervals,generally seven years.

290 Ca.and Lans.chese T feche.The alliteration indicates that the
last is the correct version.Ca.has caught chese from 292;Lans.
changes 292 to haue.

291 Cf. 'He was mekill mane and lange' 13 Sir Isumbras.

Ca.,Co.,and Lans.change the Nth.mekill of T.

293 Cf. 'Nor all the gold that ever God made' 979 S.L.D.
 'For all the gold pat ever was wrought' 542 Erl of Toul

294 Cf. 'fro hethin to þe werlde's ende' 3310 Yw. & Gaw.

'The scribes, with the exception of Co., misunderstand this Northern word and write heven.' (Murray).

301-4 'This stanza, though in all, comes in very awkwardly, nor can I explain to what it refers.' (Murray). It may be an obscure political reference (see Brandl p.30). Cf. a song on Richard II's ministers, in which Henry, Duke of Lancaster, is represented as an eron :

'A eron is up, and toke his flyt,

In the noth contre he is list.' Wright, PPS I p.363.

This poem, however, contains no references to a falcon. Cf. also a song, written c.1449, 'On the popular discontents at the disasters in France', in which a falcon symbolizes the Duke of York :

'The Fawkoun fleyth and hath no rest,

Tille he witte where to bigge his nest.' Wright, PPS I p.221.

For further discussion of this passage, see Introduction.

306 Lans. brwtes broume. A corruption of bentis browne as in T.

308 Sloane only speaks of Thomas as Sir thomas. Cf. also 488.

309 Cf. 'I hafe no langare tyme mo tales to telle,

For me buse wende one my way. . ' 301-2 Awnt. Arth.

³
 313 Lans. I gone. Scribal error for 3e gone as in Ca.

326-34 For the simile of the dying tree, cf.

'Pis semly someres day

In winter it is nouȝt sen,

Pis greues waxen al gray,

Pat in her time were grene.

'So dos pis world,y say. .

Pe gode ben al oway,

'Pat our elders haue bene.' 13-19 Sir Tristrem.

S 330 baly of blud.A misunderstanding of baylliolf,as in T.The mistake is repeated at 400.

335 spraye.Origin obscure.The NED gives only one other example:

'Of bedlem a gracyus lord shall spray.' 219 xvi Town.Myst.

342 and thi wills bee.Cf. 3if it thi willis bee 490.A common court-
esy phrase.Cf.

' . . giff that yhour willis wer' 618 Bruce I.

344 Cf. 'Als ever mote I thryffe or thee' 333 Sir Percev.

'God let him never thryve ne thee.' 1088 S.L.D.

351 S birdes.This may refer to the bird symbolism which occurs later,
er,but is more probably used in the sense 'young men'.Cf.

'The berdes bold of chere' 15 Amis & Amil.

353 The Bretons are the English,the Bruyse blode the Scots. T vndir
fete,cf.

'And pou feld vnder fet.' 635 Sir Tristrem.

354 T spraye Ca.spray.Occurs in T and Ca. at 354,386,498,and in Ca.
at 362,in all cases rhyming with day.Lans. and S change it to
pray(e).It is derived from the Gael. spreidh 'booty,prey',and
is found in various forms in the works of Scottish writers from
the 15th century onwards;

Wyntoun (c.1425) Cron.viii 6467 spreithe 6473 sprethe.

Douglas (1513) Aeneid II vii 27 spreith viii 62,xii 6 spreicht.

Fraser (1665) Polichron. 85 spreath.

As an intrans.verb :

Wyntoun Cron.viii 6279 sprethand rhyming with pai fand.

Barbour (edit.1629) v 118 spraith (MS reff).

The word is also found in Scott's novels in the form spreagh.
 The form spraye used here is apparently unique; the loss of the
 final -th is difficult to account for, but may be due to a con-
 fusion between spreith and prey, as the meaning is similar.
 See also Introduction: Place of Origin.

361 T lang & lange S longe & longe. Probably a corruption of the
 common alliterative phrase large and long. Cf.

'That wyll paye hys lyueray large and longe' 117 Jeaste of
Sir Gaw.

366 tarye. Origin obscure. Perhaps from OE tergan, 'tease, worry'. Cf.

'but euer he wold an synne I wys

pat Mankynde were taryed.' 2351-2 Cast. Persev.

367 'Two greyhounds were called a brace, three a leash.' (Strutt:
Sports and Pastimes I i 18). A leash is the usual number in the
 romances. Cf.

'Furthe he went with grehondis thre,

In a leeshe he dyd hem dō.' 784-5 Ipom.

373-6 Ca. only; apart from this, there is nothing to indicate that the
 lines are not authentic. If they are a later addition, the style
 of the original has been carefully followed. holtely has not
 been identified.

375 reyke. 'of animals, to go at a rapid pace.' NED. Cf.

'The bustuus bukkis rakis furth on raw.' 177 xii Douglas,
Aeneid.

378 Lans. substitutes make for the Nth. gar of the other MSS.

381 Cf. 'Stedes ther stumbelyd in that stownde' MS Co. Cleop. C iv.
Lans. snapre; cf.

'Many can stomble at a stre

Pey nyl not snapere at a style.' 26 PFS iv 90.

382 grysselle. 'Of a horse: roan' NED. 'Of the colours of horses in

the Middle Ages, white seems to have been prized most highly, and after that dapple-grey and bay or chestnut.' Wright,

Domestic Manners p.318.

Lans.bresyll is a scribal error for gresyll.

383-417 Missing in Ca., which continues without a break.

384 Co.wylsom.Cf.

'Mony wylsum way he rode' 689 Gaw.& G.K.

The reference to the traps laid by the Scots (see Notes on the Prophecies) has not been understood by the writers of Co. and Lans.

386 Lans. Ebruys.The bruces of the other MSS is hopelessly misunderstood and corrupted.The same form occurs at 498.

387 Lans.ynglis.This Nth.form of the word occurs only in this late,southernized MS.It is not found in T,the earliest and most northern of the texts.

392 pe Redy Waye.A near,or easy way'.Cf.

'Thus the roy and his rout..

To Rome tuke the redde way.' 310 Golag.& Gaw.

'A reyde way to the town he had.' 201 Sir Amadas.

402 The version of Lans.and S is probably correct,rather than that of T.See Notes on the Prophecies.

403 Lans.morowe.The rhyme with horne is lost by the change from the Nth.morn.A similar loss of rhyme due to southernizing occurs at 358/360 yrke : chirch.Cf.also 434/436.

411 dongene.Cf.

'Godrich stert up and on him dong' 1258 Havel.

411-2 in Lans.are lifted from 515-6,where they are repeated.

414 Cf. 'Thus zoure cheualrous kynge chefe schalle a chawnce.'

256 Awnt.Arth.

419 T 3ynge.Nth, and E.Midl.form of 3onge, to rhyme with kyng 417.
Lans.alone has preserved 417 correctly.

425 T sky \bar{m} e.The original rhyme was evidently with myne 423.The
 \bar{m} is no doubt a scribal mistake for \bar{n} = nn.In Barbour's Bruce
m and n are often interchanged.But there is no evidence that
Scone was ever pronounced [sk \bar{u} n].

435 3our kynge.Probably the author had forgotten that only one
person was being addressed, but the use of the older plural
form for the singular in familiar address became fairly common
in the 15th century.Cf. Ca.313 3e gon.In the Paston Letters
ye was used by wife to husband in 1443.
faill of his praye.Cf.

'But he fayled foule of his praye' 1132 Ipom.

437 Ca.teyryd.Written teryd, with the y written above the e, and an
omission-mark between the e and r.T tane, Lans.togged, S taggud.
It is impossible to say what the original was.Murray suggests
tepryd for teyryd; but this is not very suitable to the context.
The word may be a form of the trans.verb tary, as used in 366;
or it is possible that the writer mistook a long-tailed s for
an r, and that the word should be teysyd, from OE teswian, 'to
injure, harm'.Cf.

'I haue hym tysyd in euery londe' 540 Cast.Persev.

The writer of Ca. frequently indicates a \bar{e} by a following y,
cf. beys 295 seyn 616.

Lans.togged S taggud.NED gives 'tag: to follow closely', but no
example as early as this is given.

444 For the origin of raven-symbolism, see Spence: The Magic Arts,
p.160 : 'Certain mystical birds and animals appear to have been
associated with the Arthurian cultus. Predominant among these

was the raven or crow. . . Arthur himself is spoken of in folklore as having assumed the shape of a raven or crow; Bran is the raven par excellence.'

445 Lans.woym.Obscure.The y may be taken to indicate a long vowel, as in foynd 257,goyn 259.As it rhymes with towne 447,the word should perhaps be wone 'dwell',and the line correctly read

the Rauyne shall with the goshawike woyn.

446 The significance of this line,which occurs in all MSS except T,is obscure.According to Spence,a raven with white feathers in its plumage was considered lucky in Scotland and Ireland. Conversely,a raven which was entirely black may have been considered unlucky (in this context perhaps evil);but there is no evidence on this point.

453 Cf. 'When he es in his mageste hegheste & maste es of myghte'
He sall lighte full lawe appone the see sandis.' 254-5

Awnt.Arth.

457 T sythene.The metre demands sin,as also in 475.

458 S alone has an intelligible version of this line.Murray emends T to felle and flese,or wolle and fell.See Notes on the Prophecies.

464 S version is by confusion with 392.

467 L.Robert steward.L is the only MS to give the name.

477-8 The MSS vary considerably in this passage.Ca.is obviously corrupt : a wycked way is carried over from 384,and parke from 433. Co.is probably nearest the original,as both Lans.and S seem to be garbled renderings of this version.

478-80 The original rhyme was no doubt stane : slayn.Co.478 haly stane. Brandl suggests (p.138) that this refers to Battle Cross, raised on the site of the battle of Otterburn.

- 479 in fere. 'Together, in company (OE gefera)' (Murray). But possibly from OE fær, fēr, 'sudden attack', which would suit the context excellently.
- 482 All the MSS differ. Ca. is corrupt; after stating in 482 that the chieftain will be slain, it speaks in the following lines of his imprisonment. pesans is obscure, and is probably due to the writer's misreading of hās copy.
- 483 Ca. in won. 'in their possession, or power'. Co. an hold of stane is the only version which gives a rhyme for 481.
- 491 T schall. This form occurs only six times in T, between 490-511. Elsewhere the form is sall. This passage also contains the only example in T of 'if' with a palatal g : 3if 490. There is no indication that these lines are written in another hand.
- 494 Cf. 'This werlde es wandrethe' 203 Awnt. Arth.
- 497-500 Ca. and Co. alone give the victory to the English, and Ca. increases the number of dead to the impressive figure of thirteen thousand. The change in Ca. 499, with the consequent loss of rhyme, is probably due to the impossibility of making xiiij thousand scottisshe men grete and smalle fit into the metre.
- 507 Ca. flesshe. Scribal mistake for fresshe.
- 508 S repeats 352.
- 509 Ca. but when. Scribal mistake for between. This would arise more easily from an error in hearing than in copying, and suggests that the text may have been dictated.
- 510 Ca. hill Co. hyl. Corruptions of hall, as in T and Lans. See Notes on the Prophecies. S glay : the NED gives as its earliest instance Gammer Gurton's Needle I 2 (1575), and states that it is a pseudo-dialect form; but its occurrence here proves it to

be a genuine dialect form.

527 be greaves. 'thickets'. Cf. 'There with al came oute syre
phelot oute of the greuys sodenly.' xvi VI Morte Arth.

529 Ca. fflorence. A corruption of fforryours, as in T.

531 Lans. shalne. Scribal mistake for slayne.

537 appone be Sande. Cf.

'Per sat his ship upon be sond' 735 Havel.

538 Co. wall(yng). Cf.

'Hij seien a bat com walwyng' 63 St. Greg. (c.1300)

The form wallep occurs in Piers P. A v 71.

The whole line is hopelessly corrupted in Lans.

550. Ca. eneglych shal rone away is written in the place of something which has been erased, and which was probably nyghte sail dye as in T.

560 S claydon moore.dvnnes more is written in the MS above this, 'referring perhaps to Dunse Moor, and the "Warden Raid" of 1378.' (Murray).

566 S vnder be. Probably the correct version. Cf. the corrupt version of Ca.

568 Ca. schrew. A corruption of crow.

609 Lans. out of the west. (S. owte of a fforreste, Ca. fro a forest, Co. of the forest. The change in Lans. may have been made to accord with the legends of the return of Arthur. See Murray pp. xxvii - xxix.

614-6 Ca. Murray gives as Est and west as ... layde. But the second half of the line, after as, has been erased, and is illegible. in certan is written in the right-hand margin opposite the line, in smaller script. 615, 616 are written vertically down the right-hand margin. The last word of 616 is given by

by Murray as sayd, but it is definitely seyn, rhyming with certan. The writer frequently indicates a long \bar{e} by a following y.

Co. myche tene is probably the original version; the readings of the other MSS are weak.

621-44 'In great confusion in the MSS. Ca. seems to transpose two stanzas, putting the death of the bastard before Sandyford, while the others put it last, and make it the cause of the lady's emotion.' (Murray)

625 Ca. wroo 'corner, secluded place'. Cf.

'He made hem lurken and crepen in wros.' 68 Havel.

639 S leishe lande. Probably for liege lande; see a note by Holt-hausen, Anglia XIV (1892).

645-7 Ca. chere : sore. chere is a misreading or corruption of care, as in Co. This rhyme proves the text to be of Nth. origin.

649 Ca. way walkyng. Cf. 'his gayne comyng' 3869 Guy of Warw.

651 Ca. 3ong, originally 3ing, rhyming with walkyng.

661-4 Co. 'is doubtless the original' (Murray). Brandl disagrees, and points out that the Ca. version is confirmed by T hird mane 697. There is in the Bodleian, among the papers of John Lawern (c.1448), a fragment of a poem beginning :

'Joly chepert of Askeldowne'

(see Warton's History of English Poetry (1824 ed.) p.80).

681-700 The ending in Co. differs in several respects from that in T and Ca. 688-9 in T are expanded to five lines in Co., which appear to be a charm conferring on Thomas the gift of truth-telling (see Introduction). 689 is a repetition of 316. Co. does not mention Helmesdale, T and Ca. 695, 'in Sutherland, in the far north, whence fairies and witches were believed to come.' (Murray).

THE PROPHECIES

325-336 Lans. omits ll.325-340. Co. is damaged. 329 T. baylliolf
Ca. folkys Co. (baly)oves S baly, all corruptions or variant
forms of Balliol. 331-2 the names are more or less intact
in T and S, very corrupt in Ca. The Barclays, Cumyns, and
Frasers were prominent during the Scottish wars. Murray
can find no trace of the Russels, and suggests that the word
may be a scribal error for one of the other names conspicuous
in the history of the period, - the Rosses for instance.
Murray takes the prophecy to refer to the failure of Balliol's
party in the struggle with Bruce, in 1333, and to be a curse
directed against them by the Scottish author. Brandl
considers that all these families could hardly be in disfavour
in 1333, as they were fighting on different sides at that
date. He also takes the prophecy as a curse, and holds that
it refers to the desertion of the English cause by Balliol,
Comyn, Ross, and others in 1295, - the presumption being that
the prophecies were written by an Englishman. He is
supported in this view by Burnham. It is an attractive
theory, but has this weakness, that the passage is not a
curse, but more in the nature of a lament, - cf. ll.334-6.

All sall pay fade and wyte awaye ..

And mekill bale sall after spraye

Whare joye & blysse was wonte t(o be)

The passage is therefore probably a lament by an English
writer for the failure of the Balliol party, written at some
time after 1333. Beginning at l.359 (the Battle of Falkirk
1298) /

1298), the prophecies in Fytte II are in chronological order; but it cannot be strictly said that ll.325-336 are out of place, for they are not so much a specific prophecy as a general lament for the times, - 'how are the mighty fallen'; as such, they form a fitting introduction to the prophecies.

349-356 352 T Eldone, Ca, ledyn, Co. halyndon, Lans. halydowne, S eldon. Ll.353-6 are missing in Co. and Lans. T gives the victory to the Scots, Ca. and S to the English. Murray and Brandl identify this battle with that of Halidon Hill (1333). This theory is supported by the fact that all the other prophecies in Fytte II are historical. On the other hand, it is out of the chronological order, being followed by the prophecies of the Battle of Falkirk (1298), Bannockburn (1314), and the invasion of Scotland by Balliol (1332). T, the oldest and least corrupt MS, reads Eldone; Co., also 15th century, reads halyndon. It is impossible to say which is the corrupt version. T has no connection with Halidon Hill as it gives the victory to the Scots. Murray considers that this passage 'may have been written on the eve of Halidon Hill, with a view to encourage the Scots in that battle.' But it is written in exactly the same style as the rest of the prophecies, and bears no trace of being by an earlier writer. It is possible, as Murray suggests, that there existed some legendary prophecy regarding Eldone Hill; cf. Scott, in a letter to Laing (Laing: Select Remains, 1885 ed.): 'The fight at Eldone Hill here alluded to, may perhaps be that in which Oswin, a pretender to the throne of Northumberland /

Northumberland, was defeated and slain by Ethelwold, about the middle of the eighth century. The field of battle is still called Corpse-cleugh, or some such name, and distinguished by barrows, and other marks of ancient contest: bones, and remnants of armour are even yet turned up by the plough.'

359-364 The Battle of Falkirk (1298). The name is corrupt in S and Lans. Co., Ca., and Lans. give the victory to the Scots. 'The foregoing passage (i.e. ll.325-356) refers to a cluster of events in the minority of David II, 1332-1345. They seem to have been written at that time. What follows to the end of the Fytte, ... is a general sketch of battles and other events in Scotland from 1298 to 1400 or so, and was probably written about the latter date, when the poem took its present form.' (Murray). As shown, there is little or no evidence to support the theory that the preceding prophecies were written at an earlier period than the rest of the Fytte.

377-388 The Battle of Bannockburn (1314). Ca. barnokys barne, Lans. Bankes bourne, S bannokburne. In T and Co. the name is illegible owing to damage to the MSS. In spite of the various corruptions of the name, there can be no doubt that it is Bannockburn. This is borne out by the description of the battle, the wycked way being the Scottish stratagem of concealed pits, which caused the English steeds to stombill with tresoune. The bitterness with which this is recounted indicates that the writer was an Englishman. (cf. note on ll.325-36).

389-412 /

389-412 The death of Robert Bruce (1329), and the invasion of Edward Balliol (1332). 'The tercelet, or young falcon, is Edward Balliol, who now seeing his opportunity took with him tercelettis grete & gay, the dispossessed lords Henry Percy, Lord Wake, Henry Beaumont, David Cumyn and others, and landed (1.401) at Wester Kinghorn, 1332, where Alexander Seton, with a handful of followers, threw themselves upon them, but was overpowered and cut in pieces on the sands (1.402). They then pushed on towards Perth, surprised the Scottish army at Duplin Moor, by the river Earn, which flows over the old red sandstone (11.403-408), with great slaughter, and next day took Perth, the "town of great renown near the water of Tay".' (Murray).

400 T Royalle, Co. balyolues (line misplaced), Lans. in scotland war we, S baly of blud. All corruptions of Balliol.

401 T Kynke horne, Co. kynche horn, Lans. kynges horne, S kynkborne. The last two MSS do not know the name.

402 The version given in Co., Lans., and S is probably the original, - the version given by T is weak.

403 S foplynge moor. The scribe does not know the name, and apparently does not connect it with depplinge 405, correctly transcribed.

405 T dales, Co., dale, Lans. the gray ston, S dasse. T and S rhyme the line with Thomas. Possibly a hill in the neighbourhood was known as the Bass, - a name which occurs in several of the later, local prophecies attributed to Thomas.

406 Only Co. has preserved the name of the river.

407 /

407 Lans. is alone in giving the victory to the Scots, but implies that it did not serve to halt the enemy by inserting yet in l.409.

411 Lans. places this as l.410, and for ll.411-412 substitutes ll.515-516, which are repeated in their proper place.

Ll.389-416 are entirely omitted by Ca. This may be due to a scribal blunder: the scribe may have broken off at l.388, with a mental note that the next line to be written was 'then shall Scotland kingless stand', and on resuming work carelessly have resumed the narrative at l.417.

413-417 A reference to the English invasion of France in 1339.

417-426 David II returned from exile in France in May, 1341, but his coronation took place in 1331, when he was seven years old, (cf. ll.419-420). Ca. reads Robert erroneously for David 421. Lans. Bysshoppes and lordes 423 for T and Ca. Lordes & ladyse. Co. is damaged, but apparently had bishops, as the letters ..ppes remain. Ll.427-8 in Lans: cf. Fordun, Scotichronicon IV 1018: 'Octavo Kal. Decembris A.D.1331 inunctus est David rex Scotorum et coronatur apud Sconam a domino Jacobo Ben, episcopo sancti Andreae, per bullam sanctissimi patris Johannis XXII, tunc summi pontificis, ad hoc specialiter constituto, ante quem nullus regum Scocie legitur fuisse inunctum vel cum tali solemnitate coronatum.'

427-447 This passage relates the invasion of England by the Scots, the battle of Neville's Cross or Durham (1346), and the capture of David II.

431-2 /

431-2 S only. Co. damaged, missing in T and Lans. Murray takes this to be a reference to the capture of Hexham, Brandl to that of Liddel Castle in Cumberland, and the slaughter of the garrison.

433-444 The battle of Neville's Cross, near Durham, where the king was wounded, and taken prisoner by the English. 'The Scots .. encamped in a park not far from the town' (Child III 282). Cf. the ballad Durham Field 50,51:

The King of Scots in a studye stood
Amongst his companye;
An arrow stoke him thorow the nose
And thorow his armorye.
The King went to a marsh-side,
And light beside his steede;
He learned him downe on his swordhilt,
To let his nose bleede. (Child III 286).

441 'The fals fode, who betray the King, points to the High Steward, and the Earl of March, who escaped with their division from the field, and were blamed for not adequately supporting David.' (Murray). Murray takes fode as a plural noun: 'brood'. But it is generally the singular in ME.444 the raven points to Edward III, says Brandl, but he admits that ll.453-456 do not agree with this theory, and suggests that they may be taken from Awnt.Arth.xxi, where the end of Arthur is prophesied:

'When he es in his mageste hegheste, and waste es of myghte
He sall lighte full lawe appone the see sandis.'

The /

The sudden return to the symbolism of birds, which has not been used since l.393, and particularly the symbol of the goshawk, which does not occur elsewhere, suggest that the passage 441-456 may have been lifted from some other poem, or originally have existed separately, and merely have been slightly reshaped by this author to accord more or less with the facts. L.448 presumably refers to King David's wife Joanna, sister of Edward III.¹ Ll.451-452. The king here mentioned may be Edward Balliol, crowned at Scone in 1332; Edward III invaded Scotland in 1355, and Balliol surrendered to him his right to the crown of Scotland.

453-456 Murray suggests that these lines may refer to 'the slaughter in Ettrick Forest of the Knight of Liddesdale, who had been gained over to the English interests by Edward.

'But these lines undoubtedly refer to the raven who appears from the preceding lines to be Edward III. The whole passage is obscure, and is probably a legendary prophecy slightly altered (cf. above).

457-460 The raising of the ransom of 100,000 marks demanded by the English for David II. 'The money was principally raised by granting to the king all the wool and wool-fells in the kingdom at a low rate, to be exported and sold at a profit abroad.' (Murray) David returned to Scotland in 1357, but the ransom fell into arrears, and was never paid in full (l.460).

461-468 The death of David II (1370) and the succession of Robert Stewart /

1. She obtained a licence to join him in his captivity in London.

Stewart. The succession was peaceful, and 11.463-5 are obscure. They may possibly be a reference, out of chronological order, to the rebellion of certain chiefs against David II in 1362, mentioned by Fordun.

469-484 The invasion of England by the Scots, and the battle of Otterburn.

473-4 The Scots plundered Durham and the North generally. Cf. the ballad The Battle of Otterburn, 4:

'And they have brent the dales of Tyne,
And harryed Bamborowe shire,
And the Otter Dale they have brent it hale,
And left it a' on fire.'

The charge of looting churches and killing ecclesiastics was made by both sides throughout the Scottish wars. Cf. Langtoft's Chronicle, on the Scottish invasion of Northumberland in the reign of Edward I:

'... de cele part fut unkes une fez
Deinz vile ne dehors, un bon fet esprovez
Mes for gopiller e robber les vilez
Arder seint eglose, tuer les ordinez.' 11.355-358.

475-6 The Scottish threat to Newcastle.

477-484 The Battle of Otterburn, the death of Douglas (1.480), and the capture of Percy (11.481-4).

Brandl suggests that the wethy Co.477 is Hott Wood, near the battlefield.

496-504 Murray suggests that the battle of spyncarde cloughe may refer to the skirmish between Sir John Gordon and Lilburn 'in a mountain pass' on the border in 1378. Scott says:
"Spyncarde /

'"Spyncarde Cleugh (is) clearly our unlucky battle of Pinkie, I cannot help thinking this stanza much more modern than the rest of the poem.' This theory is impossible, since MSS T, Ca., and Co. are all 15th century, and the Battle of Pinkie did not take place until 1547. LL.501-4 seem like a brief glance at some well-known event, and the whole passage may refer to some Border skirmish, famous in the North at the time, but soon forgotten, as is shown by the many variants of the MSS: Ca. and Co. give the victory to the English, T, Lans., and S to the Scots. Lans. has fowarde for the reareward of the other MSS, while Co. omits ll.501-4 altogether. Lans. adds that the battle will take place in a sunday mornyng, which appears to be taken from l.530.

492 The version given by Co. of this line does not appear in any of the other MSS. It has no connection with the context, and does not rhyme with l.494, in which the last word appears to be wankill as in Ca. The line is evidently taken from some other prophecy. Compare the 15th century prophecy beginning:

'When that Rome removeth into England

And every prest hath the popis power in hande'

(Wright: PPS II 249)

and the Prophecie of Bertlington in The Whole Prophecie (1603)

'When Rome is devided in two partes,

and euerie Priest hath the Popes power,

Then shal the land of Albanie

Be put to great perplexitie.'

- 505-516 The battle at Pentland Hill. Murray takes this to refer either to the invasion of Richard III in 1385, or to that of Henry IV in 1400. Brandl does not consider it to be historical. The locality is very definitely indicated, - a hall (Ca., Co. hill), between Edinburgh and the Pentlands (T corruptly Sembery); but detail is no evidence that the passage refers to actual events. L.510 almost certainly refers to the castle of Redhall, which stood at Colinton, between Edinburgh and the Pentland Hills, about two miles north of the latter. It was destroyed in the 17th century by Cromwell's troops, after withstanding a siege of several days. I cannot find any reference to a battle in the immediate neighbourhood in the 14th century or earlier.
- 513-520 correspond to ll.409-416. Ll.515-6 occur in the earlier passage in Lans. only. This kind of repetition might easily occur in a poem handed on by word of mouth for some time before being written down. It is possible that ll.513-516 as given by S and Co. are correctly placed here, the wallyd toun presumably being Edinburgh; and that T and Lans. were led by the similarity of the two passages into making 1.514 on the water of Tay, which belongs to the prophecy regarding Perth. Ca. omits ll.513-524 entirely. Ll.521-4 probably belong to the earlier passage, and should be placed after 1.416, - Edward III invaded France in 1339, and returned in 1346 (cf. ll.521-2), after the siege of Calais (1.523), to defeat David II at Durham, (ll.433-444).
- 525-556 In spite of the detail, this is apparently a purely legendary prophecy /

prophecy. Seton lies on the Forth, about fifteen miles east of Edinburgh. The sea presumably means the North Sea, as against the Firth of Forth. barboke T, Barwik S, barkle Lans., is North Berwick, therefore, rather than Berwick-on-Tweed. Only S says that the battle will be between the English and the Scots. T, Ca., and Lans. refer to the enemy of the English as the tober oste T, or some corruption of this phrase. Co. has be frenshe. Except for Co. and S 634, and the interpolation after S 536, the 'bruce blood' is not mentioned again in Fytte III; the prophecies concern battles between the English and an unspecified foe. Ca. 529 fflorence is a corruption of T fforryours, 'forayers'. Co. is damaged. Lans. has a different, but adequate version. S omits the line. There appears to have been some corruption of this line early in the history of the text, as all the MSS are in confusion. All except Co. agree (ll. 533-4) that the armies are unprepared for battle. A line is interpolated in S between ll. 536-537. Ll. 537-544 seem to be a separate prophecy which has been inserted here. It is of a definite legendary type, of the kind in ll. 651-656. The battle at Seton ends indecisively, (ll. 547-8, 552), with a three-year truce: the ships and steeds would therefore not be left in the derelict condition stated, which implies that both sides died to the last man. If ll. 537-544 are omitted the narrative continues smoothly, cf. Ca., which omits ll. 537-548. Brandl compares the details of the battle, - the use of trenches (S 527), the mass, the scattering of the cavalry, the /

the duration of the battle throughout the night, and the truce, with the Battle of Crécy, and suggests that they are perhaps borrowed from a poem describing it. The Scots considered the prophecy fulfilled in the battle of Pinkie (1547): 'Sum of them cal it Seton felde (a town thear nigh too), by means of a blind prophecy of theirs, which is this, or sum such toye: Betwene Seton and the seye, many a man shall dye that day.' Patten: Account of the Expedition of the Duke of Somerset (1548).

557-608 The battle of Glads Moor is referred to frequently in the later English and Scottish prophecies, and was identified with the battles of Barnet (1471),¹ and Prestonpans (1745). Brandl quotes a passage from the commentary on the Bridlington Prophecy (c. 1370), which may have inspired the author of Thomas: 'Istud bellum fuit commissum in loco, qui dicitur Dipelyngmore, et in illo loco est locus, ubi fuit ingressio belli, et vocatur Gladeleye, quod lingua eorum 'locus laetus' interpretatur, unde in illo loco non fuerunt Scoti sine letho et morte; unde nota hic, quod 'laetus, -a, -um', Anglice dicitur 'glad' et hoc 'lethum, lethi' Anglice 'deth', unde hic utitur autor tertia occultatione.' There is a Gladismuir near Haddington. With regard to the cross of stone mentioned in Ca. and S 570, cf. the following paragraph in Anc. Monum. Com. Scotland, East Lothian, p.37: 'Old Parish Church, Gladsmuir: Socket-stone (?). On the west side of the entrance to the churchyard is a regular block of freestone /

1. See additional note at end of section.

freestone . . . in which an oblong cavity . . . is hollowed out.' The form gleydes or Gladys more occurs only in Ca. S reads claydon moore. The Ca. form is found in the later prophecies, MS Bodl. Hatton 37 (late 15th century), The Propheisies of Rymour Beid and Marlyng (1529), and The Whole Prophecie (1603). The battle cannot be identified with any real occurrence, and the prophecy is of legendary style and detail. The combatants appear to be the same as in the Seton prophecy: they are not named. Lans. omits ll.549-609. Ll.557-571 in T and 558-607 in Co. are damaged and illegible. Ll. 563-4 in Ca. repeat the idea expressed in ll.335-6. The iiij crowned kinges S 565 appear in The Propheisies of Rymour Beid and Marlyng as the kings of Scotland (the Red Lion), Denmark, and Norway. A 17th century prophecy speaks of

'Gladsmore, at which batell shalbe þe kinge of Spayne,
þe kinge of Denmarke and þe kinge of Navarre or Norwaye.'

(MS Ashmole 1386)

The S version of l. 565 is probably the original: Ca. is very much corrupted at this passage. S is much clearer, and has retained the rhymes intact. The obscure phrasing of ll.572-3 in all MSS is cleared up in a late 15th century version of the prophecy:

'Apone A brode mure þar sall A battell be
Besyde a stob crose of stane that standis on A mure
It sall be coueret wyth corsis all of a kyth,
That the crow sall nocht ken whar the cross standis.'

(MS Camb. Kk I 5, Lumby: Bernardus)

Murray considers that the whole passage is a traditional prophecy borrowed by the author of Thomas.

- 577-604 These lines occur only in T, probably the earliest of the MSS. which is also the only MS in which the prologue occurs. Judging from the style and vocabulary, the lines are contemporary with the rest of the poem, but it is improbable, for two reasons, that they are part of the original text: (a) they are unsupported by any other reliable MS. (b) they are the only example of heraldic symbolism throughout the poem. This type of prophecy was very popular (cf. the Bridlington Prophecy) and the passage may have been taken from some other poem, and interpolated by Thornton, or an earlier copyist. Brandl identifies the four lords as follows: the rede lyone 580, the King of Scots, or Bedford; the schippe with an ankyre of golde 585, Nevill (arms: a sable galley with the buoy). Both the Red Lion and 'the Ship with her Ancre' are mentioned in the 16th century ballad on The Battle of Flodden. A wolf's head with a child's arm in his mouth was the arms of a certain Harbarte (cf. Brandl p.140). The Warwicks bore as their arms a bear bound to a stake. L. 592 is badly damaged, but as the last word must rhyme with m(ake) 590, it can be presumed that it was stake. MS Harley 559 (late 16th century) gives a garbled version of some of the prophecies in Thomas, including this passage. It is of interest in that it may represent a corrupt rendering of ll.592-604, which are torn out of T :
 'Owte of þe weste shall come 8 persones, which shall bringe
 rare /

mare then inowe. theye shall bringe with them a bull with
a beard, a bere with a chayne, with them shall come a nut-
croppes, a shepe with anker gilt, a graye wolfe with a
childe in his mowthe, a redd lyon rampinge, a dreadfull
dragon, a whyte byrdelyd horse with a yelowelion helmyd
and a whyte hare. the which whyte hare shall take the redd
foxe bye bothe þe yeares and drive hyme to þe castell of
care.'

The passage is repeated, with some differences, in MS Bodl.
Arch. Seld. B 8 (16th century), and MS Ashmole 1386 (17th
century).

605-608 Ca. and S; T and Co. damaged; Lans. omits these lines.

They are a more or less exact repetition of ll. 545-548 in T,
S, and Lans.

609-620 The prophecy of the bastard.¹ Murray takes this to be a
637-644 legendary Arthurian prophecy. Brandl, on the other hand,
believes it to refer to Henry IV. A hawk or eagle was his
symbol, and, according to Brandl, a certain breed of eagle
was known as a bastard. Ll. 613-616, according to this
theory, refer to his landing at Ravenspur in 1399 and to the
Parliament of the same year. In 1400 he demanded homage of
King Robert, and thus attempted to become alle leder of
bretans. L. 641 may be a reference to the prophecy made
during Henry's lifetime, that he would die in Jerusalem. It
is possible that the author may have worked up an old
Arthurian prophecy into a eulogy of the reigning monarch:
ll. 643-4 /

1. See Introduction: Dialect and Date.

11. 643-4 imply that the bastard is an actual person. But the whole passage is very vague, and may equally well be a mere conglomeration of traditional Arthurian prophecies. There is certainly not sufficient evidence on which to build up an elaborate theory as to the date of the poem, as Brandl has done. His theory rests on the argument that bastard = eagle, which was the commonly recognized symbol for Henry IV. But bastard in this sense must be very rare: the NED does not mention it. Secondly, there is not the slightest indication that the word is used in this passage in any other than the usual sense. Taylor (Political Prophecy in England) points out that the battles of Edinburgh, Spyncard Clough, Seton, and Gladsmoor, and the invasion of France, are all to take place before the coming of the bastard, but cannot be identified satisfactorily with any events before the accession of Henry IV. The prophecy remained popular long after the death of Henry IV; it occurs twice in the Whole Prophecie, - in the prophecy of 'Merling' (a Freik fostered farre in the South) and in the prophecy of Thomas Rymour, in a definitely Arthurian form:

'There comes a beast out of the west
 With him shal come a faire manie,
 His Baner hes beene seldome seene
 A bastard trowe I best he be,
 Gotten with a Ladie sheene,
 With a Knight in priuitie
 His armes are full eathe to knowe,
 The read Lyon bears he.'

Ca. alone puts the battle at Sandyford after the death of the bastard. T is missing, and Lans. stops at l. 629. The v kingus landis 639 are presumably England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Cornwall.

621-632 Murray and Brandl are unable to identify Sandyford; but Scott, in a letter to Laing, writes: 'The rivulet near to Flodden field is called Sandyford, or something like it. Flodden is therefore probably alluded to in this and the following stanza.' There is a stream of that name at Flodden, close to the Pallin's Burn, between Branx Brig and the Flodden Hills.¹ It is mentioned in the account of the battle of Flodden in Halle's Chronicle (1550): 'a littell brooke, called Sandyforde, whyche is but a man's step over'; and in the 16th century ballad of Flodden Field:

'Thus over plains and hills they passed

Until they came to Sandiford,

A brook of breadth a taylor's yard.' 1815-7

The well 626 is probably the spring in Branxton village, (which figured in the battle of Flodden), and the braye, bro 625, Flodden Hills. MSS Ca. and Co. are both 15th century, and therefore antedate the battle of Flodden. The fulfilment of the prophecy is a curious coincidence. It is still more curious that none of the later prophecies connect Flodden and Sandyford. In the Prophisies of Rymour Beid and Marlyng they appear in the same prophecy: 'flodden felde' ll. 220-228, and /

1. cf. Elliot: The Battle of Flodden (1911), p. 116, and Archaeologia Aeliana 1894. See also Additional Note on p. 216

and 'sondysforth' ll. 341-352.

Ll. 592-676 are unfortunately missing in T, but Ca., Co., and S and Lans. are more or less closely agreed over ll.

623-629. Ca. has wroo 625 for braye, bro, of the other MSS and Lans. has cragges 629 for okes. Lans. alone has a

corrupt version of the name, Sawdyngford 624. Co. and S sandyford(e), Ca. sandyford / sendyforth / sondyford. Ca.

places ll.637-44 preceding l.621, where Co. and S imply that the battle will be fought during the bastard's rise to power. This makes better sense of the phrase the

laste batell 631, - i.e. before all be land .. bretens shalbe

S 620. Lans. ends at l.629, and ll.633-6 occur only in Co.

and S. They presumably refer to the efforts of the bastard to bring England and Scotland under one rule. L.634 is the only instance of the use in this poem of Bruce land for Scotland. The lines are very similar to ll.521-4.

Ll.625-9 resemble ll.477-8:

bytwys a wethy & a water

a well & a haly stane. (Co.)

A cross of stone occurs in the Gladsmoor prophecy ll.570.

649-656 Missing in T and Lans. This prophecy of general social dissolution can be traced back to the 14th century. Cf. MS Harl. 2253, of the early 14th century: a prophecy on the Scottish wars attributed to Thomas. The 15th line of this,

'When laddes weddep.louedis'

is quoted in Thomas, l.651

but fer ladys shall w(e)d laddys 3ong (Ca.)

The /

The Co. and S versions are not so near the original. The line is also found in MS Arundel 57 f.8, written in 1340, which also gives Thomas as its authority:

'Hwan laddes weuddep leuedes'

This kind of prophecy was parodied by Langland in Piers Plowman:

'Whan 3e se the sonne amys and two monkes hedes
And a mayde haue the maistrie and multiplie bi eight
Thanne shal Deth withdrawe and Derthe be iustice
And Dawe the dyker deye for hunger
But if god of his goodnesse graunt vs a trewe.'

(B VI 328-332)

660-672 Black Agnes of Dunbar, the wife of the Earl of March, held the castle of Dunbar in 1338 for five months against the English, led by Salisbury and Arundel, and compelled them to raise the siege. 'Her husband's career was marked by much oscillation between England and Scotland, and his son finally took the English side, which may account for the hostility to the family here displayed.' (Murray). But the prophecy, which is distinctly venomous, is directed against Agnes herself. It seems more likely that it is an English prophecy or rather curse, written while the English were still smarting from their defeat at her hands. S alone applies the latter part of the curse to the greateste merchaunte of hir blud 669.

Ll. 661-4: 'It is singular that Thomas should be represented as speaking of himself as one in disgrace with Agnes of Dunbar /

Dunbar, though her bounden vassal ... An antiquary is tempted to guess that the obscure hint here thrown out may possibly allude to some dispute between Thomas and his superior.' (Scott). Thomas died c.1294, and had no connection with Black Agnes, but with her predecessor, the Countess of Dunbar, to whom the prophecy in MS Harl. 2253 is addressed.

Additional Note

The following notes on localities mentioned in the prophecies are written, in various hands of the 16th and 17th centuries, on the last leaf (f. 117a) of the 16th century MS Sloane 2578:

'Theare be iiij Sandyfordes one besides (Gloucester) an other in Chesshire in the fforrest of delameare the iij^d in Wales beyonde (westchester) by the say side'

In another hand: 'one is in yorkecher'

'theare is Stanismoare besydes (Glocester)'

In another, apparently older, hand: 'Theare is a Glademore beside barnet . . . '

In another (later) hand: 'And it is said there is a Glademore on dunnesmore heathe / Seiton is beside westchest. . . Sandyhill the tower'

APPENDICES

APPENDIX IThe Ballad of Thomas the Rhymer

Five versions of the ballad exist, which may be divided into two groups; the two versions in Group I derive from the Brown MS; the three in Group II are variants of one original ballad.

Group I

- A. Alexander Fraser Tytler's Brown MS, No.1. Transmitted by Mrs Brown in April 1800, and printed by Jamieson in his Popular Ballads (II p.7) 1806.
- B. A version printed in Scott's Border Minstrelsy (II p.251) 1802, 'from a copy obtained from a lady residing not far from Erceldoune, corrected and enlarged by one in Mrs Brown's MS'.

Group II

- C. Scotch Ballads, Materials for Border Minstrelsy, No.96, Abbotsford; in the handwriting of John Leyden.
- D. Scotch Ballads, Materials for Border Minstrelsy, No.97, Abbotsford; 'communicated to Sir Walter Scott by Mrs Christiana Greenwood, London, May 27th, 1806, from the recitation of her mother and of her aunt, both then above sixty, who learned it in their childhood from Kirstan Scott, a very old woman, at Longnewton, near Jedburgh.'
- E. Campbell MSS II 83: 'Old Scottish Songs collected in the counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk, and Peebles.'

Two vols. Collector unknown. At Marchmont House,
Berwickshire.

Of these two groups, the second is that which more closely resembles the romance. The two versions in Group I show traces of late 'editing', probably by Scott and Jamieson. (It is generally accepted that stanzas 18 and 19 in B were composed by Scott.).

The versions in Group II, which are variants of one ballad, contain several incidents of the romance which do not occur in Group I.

(i) The colour - dapple-grey - of the lady's horse. (C D E)
(ii) The lady's jewels, horn, and hounds. (D)
(iii) As in the romance, 'elf-land' is not mentioned in Group II. E has 'a lady of an unco land' (cf. the romance ane oper countree 93). Group I has 'I am but the queen of fair Elf-land'.

(iv) The reason for the lady's appearance is correctly given in Group II: 'Come out to hunt in my follee' (D), 'Come out a hunting' (E). Compare 'And I am come here for to visit thee' (A).

(v) D retains the lady's protest that Thomas will boast of his conquest, and the latter's vow.

(vi) The incident of the forbidden fruit is corrupt in Group I: in A Thomas offers it to the lady and is checked, in B the lady offers an apple to Thomas as his wages. Group II has retained the romance version.

(vii) The stanza concerning the loaf and the 'soup o wine', which /

which is found in A, B, and E, does not occur in the romance nor in C and D.

(viii) Group II has retained the command of silence (C,D,E) and the lady's explanation to the court, 'I gat yere aith at the Eildon tree' (D): the corresponding lines in C and E are probably corrupt versions of this.

(ix) The last stanza of D is the only recollection in any of the versions of the reason for Thomas' return to earth. It corresponds closely to Tam Lin, A st. 24, (cf. Child, Ballads), and may have been taken from that ballad.

(x) C alone has the agreement for a future meeting, as in the romance.

Group II differs in many respects from Group I, which shows many traces of modern re-working. Murray does not believe A and B to be genuine, but considers them to be compositions of Mrs. Brown: 'Scott, in the "Border Minstrelsy", and Robert Jamieson, in his "Popular Ballads and Songs", Edinburgh; 1806, give what professes to be a traditional ballad of "Thomas and the Queen of Elf-land", considered by the former to be a genuine descendant of the old romance modified by oral tradition. "It will afford great amusement," he says, "to those who would study the nature of traditional poetry, and the changes effected by oral tradition, to compare the ancient romance with the ballad. The same incidents are narrated, even the expression is often the same; yet the poems are as different in appearance, as if the older tale had been regularly and systematically modernized by a poet /

poet of the present day." That the "as if" in the last sentence might safely be left out, and that the "traditional ballad" never grew "by oral tradition" out of the older, is clear enough to me, even without the additional particulars that the source of the verses was that Mt Athos of antique ballads, Mrs Brown's MS.' (Murray pp. llii-liii). As A and B are of dubious authenticity, they are not given here. Both are printed in Murray's edition of the romance, (pp. liii-lv), which does not mention C, D, and E. The last are variant forms of what appears to be a genuine ballad, descended from the romance through popular tradition. They are given below.

All five versions are printed by Child, with a detailed introduction (Ballads I, IV).

C

Her horse was o the dapple-gray,
And in her hands she held bells nine;
'Harp and carp, Thomas,' she said,
'for a' thae bonny bells shall be thine.'

It was a night without delight,

And they rade on and on I wiss, (amiss)
Till they came to a garden green;
He reached his hand to pu an apple,
For lack o fruit he was like to tyne.

'Now /

'Now had your hand, Thomas,' she said,
 Had your hand, and go wi me;
 That is the evil fruit o hell,
 Beguiled man and women in your countrie.

O see you not that road, Thomas,
 That lies down by that little hill?
 Curst is the man has that road to gang,
 For it takes him to the lowest hell.

O see you not that road, Thomas,
 That lies across yon lily lea?
 Blest is the man has that road to gang,
 For it takes him to the heavens hie.

When ye come to my father's ha',
 To see what a learned man you be,
 They will you question, one and a',
 But you must answer none but me,
 And I will answer them again,
 I gat you at the Eildon tree.'

And when etc.

He answered none but that gay ladie.

'Harp and carp, gin ye gang wi me,
 It shall be seven year and day
 Or ye return to your countrie.

Wherever ye gang, or wherever ye be,
 Ye'se bear the tongue that can never lie.

Gin /

Gin ere ye want to see me again,
Gang to the bonny banks o Farnalieu.¹

D

Thomas lay on the Huntlie bank,
A spying ferlies wi his eee,
And he did spy a lady gay,
Come riding down by the lang lee.

Her steed was o the dapple grey,
And at its mane there hung bells nine;
He thought he heard that lady say,
'They gowden bells sall a' be thine.'

Her mantle was o velvet green,
And a' set round wi jewels fine;
Her hawk and hounds were at her side,
And her bugle-horn wi gowd did shine.

Thomas took aff baith cloak and cap,
For to salute this gay lady:
'O save ye, save ye, fair Queen o Heavn,
And ay weel met ye save and see.'

'I'm no the Queen o Heavn, Thomas,
I never carried my head sae hee;
For I am but a lady gay,
Come out to hunt in my follee.

Now /

1. A spot a few miles west of Earlston.

Now gin ye kiss my mouth, Thomas,
 Ye mauna miss my fair bodee;
 Then ye may een gang hame and tell
 That ye've lain wi a gay ladde.'

'O gin I loe a lady fair,
 Nae ill tales o her wad I tell,
 And it's wi thee I fain wad gae,
 Tho it were een to heavn or hell.'

'Then harp and carp, Thomas,' she said,
 Then harp and carp alang wi me;
 But it will be seven years and a day
 Till ye win back to yere ain countrie.'

The lady rade, True Thomas ran,
 Until they cam to a water wan;
 O it was night and nae delight,¹
 And Thomas wade aboon the knee.

It was dark night, and nae starn-light,
 And on they waded lang days three,
 And they heard the roaring o a flood,
 And Thomas a waefou man was he.

Then they rade on and farther on,
 Untill they came to a garden green;
 To pu an apple he put up his hand,
 For the lack o food he was like to tyne.

'O /

1. delight for daylight.

'O haud yere hand, Thomas,' she cried,
 And let that green flourishing be;
 For it's the very fruit o hell,
 Beguiles baith man and woman o yere countrie.

But look afore ye, True Thomas,
 And I shall show ye ferlies three;
 Yon is the gate leads to our land,
 Where thou and I sae soon shall be.

And dinna ye see yon road, Thomas,
 That lies out-owr yon lilly lee?
 Weel is the man yon gate may gang,
 For it leads him straight to the heavens hie.

But do ye see yon road, Thomas,
 That lies out-owr yon frosty fell?
 Ill is the man yon gate may gang,
 For it leads him straight to the pit o hell.

Now when ye come to our court, Thomas,
 See that a weel-learned man ye be;
 For they will ask ye, one and all,
 But ye maun answer nane but me.

And when nae answer they obtain,
 Then will they come and question me,
 And I will answer them again
 That I gat yere aith at the Eildon tree.

.....

Ilka /

Ilka seven years, Thomas,
 We pay our teindings unto hell,
 And ye're sae leesome and sae strang
 That I fear, Thomas, it will be yeresell.'

E

As Thomas lay on Huntlie banks,
 A wat a weel-bred man was he,
 And there he spied a lady fair,
 Come riding down by the Eildon tree.

The horse she rode on was dapple-gray,
 And in her hand she held bells nine;
 I thought I heard this fair lady say,
 These fair siller bells they should a' be mine.

It's Thomas even forward went,
 And lootit low down on his knee;
 'Weel met thee save, my lady fair,
 For thou'rt the flower o this countrie.'

'O no, O no, Thomas,' she says,
 'O no, O no, that can never be,
 For I'm but a lady of an unco land,
 Come out a hunting, as ye may see.

'O harp and carp, Thomas,' she says,
 'O harp and carp, and go wi me;
 It's be seven years, Thomas, and a day,
 Or you see man or woman in your ain countrie.'

It's /

It's she has rode, and Thomas ran,
 Until they cam to yoj water clear;
 He's coosten off his hose and shon,
 And he's wooden the water up to the knee.

It's she has rode, and Thomas ran,
 Until they cam to yon garden green;
 He's put up his hand for to pull down ane,
 For the lack o food he was like to tyne.

'Hold your hand, Thomas,' she says,
 Hold your hand, that must not be;
 It was a' that cursed fruit o thine
 Beggared man and woman in your countrie.

But I have a loaf and a soup o wine,
 And ye shall go and dine wi me;
 And lay yer head down in my lap,
 And I will tell ye farlies three.

It's don't ye see yon broad, broad way
 That leadeth down by yon skerry fell?
 It's ill the man that dothe thereon gang,
 For it leadeth him straight to the gates o hell.

It's don't ye see yon narrow way,
 That leadeth down by yon lilly lea?
 It's weel's the man that doth therein gang,
 For it leads him straight to the heaven hie.'

.

It's /

It's when she cam into the hall,
I wat a weel-bred man was he,
They've asked him question(s), one and all,
But he answered none but that fair ladie.

O they speerd at her where she did him get,
And she told them at the Eildon tree;

.

APPENDIX ii /

APPENDIX IILater Versions of the Prophecies

The prophecies in Fyttes II and III of the romance were repeatedly published, in more or less corrupt versions, throughout the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries. The prophecies were composed in the 14th century, but there are no MSS of that century extant; the earliest MSS in existence, apart from those of the romance, are of the late 15th century:

(1) MS Bodl. Hatton 56. 'Thomas of Arseldon', a version of Fytte III of the romance. The substance of the prophecies agrees fairly closely with that of the romance, but the wording frequently differs. The writer may have made use of lines from other poems, - cf. the occasional alliterative lines, 'Their stedes stoute shull stert on stray' 541. The full text is printed by Brandl (pp.118-123).

(2) MS Camb. Kk i 5. 'This MS is late 15th century, but the character of the language shows it to be a copy of one belonging to the first half of that century.' (Murray p.xxxi). It forms the basis of 'The Whole Prophecie', printed in Edinburgh in 1603 (see below). The text was printed for the E.E.T.S. in 1870 (J.R. Lumby: Bernardus de cura rei familiaris; with some early Scottish Prophecies).

In the 16th century MSS of the prophecies are more numerous:

(3) MS Lans. 762 leaf 75. Written in 1529. Though the prophecies are to some extent the same as in the romance, the setting and wording have been greatly altered. A 'baron' shows /

shows the poet a vision of the Virgin making peace between St. George and St. Andrew. He then goes to 'a lytell man', who prophesies to him. The battles of Gladismore and Seton are mentioned, and 'sondysforth', but the prophecies are very corrupt. Ll.621-2 indicate that the writer had made use of the 14th century poem Als y yod, though this is not evident in the rest of the text: compare,

betwene the walcoeñ & the wall

this lytyll man mett with me 621-2 MS Lans.

Bytwene Wyltinden and Walle ...

Ay litel man y met withalle. 2,4 Als y yod.

The text is given by Murray (p.52), collated with MS Rawl. C.813 f.72b, and headed 'The Prophisies of Rymour, Beid, and Marlyng'.

(4) MS Sloane 2578. In prose; predicted of the year 1553. Prophecies concerning 'Seyton', Gladismore, and 'Sandisford' are given, in a corrupt and abbreviated form, interspersed with other, obscure predictions. Printed by Murray (p.62).

(5) MS Harley 559 f.31. Late 16th century; a mixture of verse and prose. Heraldic, animal symbolism is used in the prose prophecies. Of these symbols, only four show any connection with Thomas: 'a bere with a chayne . . . a shepe (sic) with anker gilt, a graye wolfe with a childe in his mowthe, a redd lyon rampinge.' Compare Thomas T 577-592. The p^rose is followed by nineteen lines of verse. Of these, ll.1-5 are a corrupt version of the prophecy of Bannockburn (Thomas /

(Thomas 11.377-388), 11.6-12 a version of the prophecy of Seton, (Thomas 11. 530-535, 545-548), and 11.14-17 a garbled rendering of the prophecy of Gladismore (Thomas 11.567-572). The text is printed by Brandl, (p.124-5).

(6) MS Bodl. Arch. Seld.B 8. Late 16th century. Prose and verse. A slightly more corrupt version of MS Harley 559. Printed by Brandl (pp.125-6).

In 1603 was printed 'The Whole Propheisie of Scotland, England, & some part of France, and Denmark, prophesied by meruellous Merling, Beid, Bertlingtoun, Thomas Rymour, Waldhaue, Eltraine, Banester, and Sibbilla, all according in one. Containing many strange and meruelous things. Printed by Robert Waldegraue, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie.' It was reprinted by Andro Hart, Edinburgh 1615, and twelve later editions were printed between 1680 and 1746.

It is based on earlier works of the same kind: MS Camb. Kk i 5 (see above (2)), MS Lans.762 (1529), and on MS Sloane 1802 (c.1600), where the form and title are that of the 1603 edition.

The prophecy of Thomas Rymour in this work has only a remote resemblance to the romance. The first seventy lines are based on MS Lans. 762. Both texts are given by Murray (pp.48-61), and the connection between them is discussed in some detail, (pp.lxxxi-lxxxiv). Heraldic symbols are used throughout; the prophecy closes with a prediction that

'a French wife shal beare the Son,
Shall rule all Bretaine to the sey,
that /

that of the Bruces blood shall come

As neere as the nint degree' 241-244.

which Murray suggests (p.lxxxii) may have been written about the time of the marriage of Queen Mary to the Dauphin, 1558; it appears also in the prophecy of Bertlington, and was originally intended for the Duke of Albany, who became regent after the death of James IV at Flodden.

The prophecies of 'Merling', 'Bertlington', and 'Sibylla and Eltraine' all mention the battle of Gladismore, which, together with Sandyford, was one of the most popular of the prophecies. 'Sandford' is referred to in 'The Prophecie of Beid', and in 'The Prophecie of Bertlington', which quotes as one of its authorities 'Thomas the trew, that neuer spake false'. Bertlington and Waldhaue both contain a corrupt version of the romance Thomas l.651:

'Then shal Ladies laddes wed' (Bert.)

'When a lad with a Ladie shal goe ouer the fields' (Wald.)

Waldhaue also quoted a prophecy by Thomas which does not occur in the romance, but is found in the 14th century MSS Harl. 2253, and Arundel 57:

'This is a true talking that Thomas of tells,
that the Hare shal hirpil on the hard stone'.

'The Whole Prophecie' is thus a medley of older prophecies of the 14th, 15th, and early 16th centuries (cf. Murray pp.xxx-xl, where it is discussed in detail).

Three MSS of the 17th century, Addit. 6702 (1605), Ashmole 1386, and Ashmole 337 IV, do not derive from 'The Whole /

Whole Prophetie', but from a version similar to that found in MSS Harley 559 and Bodl.Seld. B 8 (cf. above, (5) and (6)). They have a much closer connection with the romance than 'The Whole Prophetie'. The texts are printed by Brandl (pp.126-130).

APPENDIX III /

APPENDIX IIIReferences by other Writers to Thomas of Erceldoune

Robert Mannyng of Brunne: English Chronicle (c.1338).

I see in song in sedgeyng tale
 of Erceldoun & of Kendale,
 Non pam says as pai pam wroght,
 & in per sayng it semes noght;
pat may pou here in sir tristrem,
ouer gestes it has pe steem
Ouer alle pat is or was,
 if mene it sayd as made Thomas;
 But I here it no mane so say,
pat of som copple som is away;
 So pare fayre sayng here beforne
 is pare trauayle nere forlorne,
pai sayd it for pride & nobleye
pat non were suylk as pei;
 And alle pat pai wild ouerwhere,
 Alle pat ilk wille now forfare.
pai sayd in so quante Inglis,
pat many one wate not what it is. 93-110.

Henry the Minstrel: Wallace (C.1361). The poet describes the rescue of Wallace from prison in Ayr, in 1296 (II.288-350), and says that Thomas was present on that occasion:

Thomas Rimour in to the Faile was than,
 With the mynystir, quhilk was a worthi man;
 He /

He wsytt offt to that religious place.
 The peple demyt of witt mekill he can;
 And so he told, thocht at thai bliss or ban,
 Quhilk hapnyt suth in many diuerss cace,
 I can nocht say, be wrang or rychtwisnas,
 In rewllle of wer, quhethir thai tynt or wan;
 It may be demyt be diuisioun of grace. 288-296

There follows the description of the rescue (297-345), and a prophecy by Thomas, when told the news:

Than thomas said: "forsuth, or he decess,
 Mony thousand in feild sall mak thar end.
 Off this regioun he sall the sothroun send;
 And Scotland thriss he sall bryng to the pess:
 So gud off hand agayne sall neuir be kend." 346-350.

John Barbour: The Bruce (completed 1378).

Our all the land the word gan spryng
 That the Bruce the Cumyn had slayn;¹
 And, amang othir, lettres ar gayn
 To the byschop off Androwss towne,
 That tauld how slayn wes that baroun.
 The lettir tauld hym all the deid:
 And he till his men (can it) reid:
 And sythyn said thaim, 'sekyrly,
 I hop (that) Thomas prophecy
 Off Hersildoune sall (verray) be
 In him; for, swa our lord help me,
 I /

1. In the Grey Friars Church at Dumfries, 1306.

I haiff gret hop he sall be king,
And haiff this land all in leding.'

II 78-90

Andro of Wyntown: Original Chronicle (before 1420) refers to the battle of Kilblane in 1334, and says:

Off pis feycht qwhilum spak Thomas
Off Erssiltone, pat said in derne,
Par sulde met stalwart, (stark) and sterne,
He said it in his prophecy,
But how he wist it was ferly.

VIII 27 11.4718-4722

Walter Bower: continuation of Fordun's Scotichronicon (c.1430), gives an account of a prediction by Thomas of the death of Alexander III; this was later repeated by Mair and by Boece.

Annon recordaris quod ille vates ruralis, Thomas videlicet de Erseldon, nocte praecedenti mortem regis Alexandri, in castro de Dunbar, obscure prophetando, de occasu ejus dixerat comiti Marchiarum interroganti ab eo, ut solitus quasi jocando, quid altera dies futura novi esset paritura? Qui Thomas attrahens de imo cordis singultuosum suspirium, sic fertur comiti coram aulicis palam protulisse: 'Heu diei crastinae! diei calamitatis et miseriae! qua ante horam explicite duodecimam audietur tam vehemens ventus in Scotia, quod a magnis retroactis temporibus consimilis minime inveniebatur. Cujus quidem flatus obstupescere faciet gentes, stupidos reddet audientes, excelsa humiliabit, et rigida solo complanabit.' Propter cujus seria affamina comes cum aulicis crastinum observantes, et horas diei usque ad nonam considerantes, et nullum vestigium in nubibus vel signis /

signis ventosis coeli aspicientes, Thomam tanquam insensatam reputantes, ad prandium properarunt. Ubi dum comiti vix mensae collocato, et signo horologii ad meridianam horam fere approximatedo, affuit quidam ad portam, importunis pulsibus aures comitis concutiens, aditum sibi ocius fieri flagitavit. Intromissus igitur advena, et de novis impetitus, 'Nova,' inquit, 'habeo, sed nesciva, toto regno Scotiae deflenda, quia inclitus, heu! rex ejus finem praesentis vitae hesternae nocte apud Kingorn sortitus est, et haec veni nunciare tibi.' Ad hanc narrationem, quasi de gravi somno excitatus, comes una cum familiaribus tutuderunt pectora, et dicti Thomae experti sunt credibilia nimis facta fore vaticinia. X 43.

John Lesley: De Gestis Scotorum (1578).

Hoc tempora^e Scotia duo plebi peperit miracula: Michaelum Scotum, & Thomam Lermountum: quorum ille singulari Philosophiae, Astronomiae, ac medicine laude praestans, dicebatur penitissimos Magiae recessus, maximo omnium stupore, indagasse. hic non ita magna eruditione tinctus, tanquam aliquis e tripode Apollo, futura, nescio quo spiru concitatus, effudisse. Cuius dictis maxima auctoritas fuit conciliata, quod certam Regis morti diem praestituerit. Rerum_u Scoticarum praedictiones rhythmicis versibus illigavit; quae tamen tanta allegariarum_u tanquam aenigmatum, obscuritate involuebantur, ut quem quaeque praedictio sensum tegeret, nisi re acta, acutissimus quisque non potuerit elicere.

Thomas /

Thomas Dempster: Historia Ecclesiastica (1627).

Thomas Leirmonth. Cognomento vulgari Rhythmicus appellatus, sive Versificator, nobilissimae familiae princeps, ac toparcha, insigni fuisse perhibetur futura praedicendi scientia: inter alia memorabile illud fuit vaticinium de morte Alexandri III regis, referente Hectore Boethio lib. XIII Histor. Scot. ad finem. Celebre est etiamnum hodie apud nostrates nomen, et viget familia.

Scriptis De Futuro Scotiae Statu lib.1

Rhythmos Vernaculos lib.1

Florebat anno MCCLXXXII. (Bk.xi)

George Mackenzie: The Lives and Characters of the most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation (1708).

THOMAS LERMONT or LERMONT commonly call'd Thomas the Rymer was born at Erslingtoun in the Merss, his Paternal Inheritance: Having apply'd Himself, in his younger Years, to the Belles Lettres, he became very Famous for his Compositions in Poetry, for which he was commonly call'd, by the Vulgar, Thomas the Rymer. At this time there was likewise a very famous poetess, one Eliza a Nun, at Hadingtoun: Our Author, having had some Conferences with her, she acquainted him of several Revelations which she had concerning the future state of Scotland, which he afterward put into Verse, and told upon several Occasions. (vol.I p.395)

A. Nisbet: On Marks of Cadeney (1722)

— Learmont of Earlstoun in the Merss ... of which family was sir /

sir Thomas Learmont ... This prophetick herald lived in the days of King Alexander the Third, and prophesied of his death, and of many other remarkable occurrences; particularly of the union of Scotland with England, which was not accomplished until the reign of James VI some hundred years after it was foretold by this gentleman, whose prophecies are much esteemed by the vulgar even at this day. I was promised by a friend a sight of his prophecies, of which there is every where to be had an epitome, which, I suppose, is erroneous, and differs in many things from the original, it having been often reprinted by some unskilful persons. Thus many things are amissing in the small book which are to be met with in the original, particularly these two lines concerning his neighbour, Bemerside:

Tyde what may betide,

Haig shall be laird of Bemerside.

(as quoted by Scott: Border Minstrelsy III)

As can be seen, a good deal of apocryphal material was added in the course of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries to the few known facts concerning Thomas of Erceldoune. The surname Lermount is first used in 1578 by John Lesley.¹ By the time of Dempster he has become 'nobilissime familie princeps'; this writer is also the first to mention that he drew his prophetic inspiration from the nun Eliza Hadintonia, a statement later repeated by Mackenzie. There is no evidence of any kind for these later traditions; our only sources of reliable information remain the two charters.

Other /

1. Nisbet (System of Heraldry p.134); speaking of the Petrus de Haga charter, says of Thomas 'in other older charters he is designed Thomas Learmount de Ercildoun'. These charters have never been traced, and probably never existed.

Other references to Thomas of Erceldoune are to be found in the following works. They have not been quoted here, as they add no new material to that given above.

Thomas Grey: Scala Cronica (1355); as quoted by Leyland: Notabilia. Cf. Murray, p.xviii.

Hector Boece: Scotorum Historia xiii (1527). Cf. Murray p.xiii ft.

Gilbert Gray: Oratio de Illustribus Scotiae Scriptoribus (1611).

Patrick Gordon: History of Robert Bruce (1615).

J. Spotswood: ^{ti}History of the Church of Scotland (1655).

A. Nisbet: System of Heraldry (1722).

G. Henderson: Popular Rhymes, Sayings, and Proverbs of the County of Berwickshire (1833).

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SELECT GLOSSARY

The words are given in the forms in which they occur in the texts; where the texts differ, the form used by T, the oldest MS, is generally chosen. The abbreviations are those commonly used by dictionaries. Others are as follows :

AF	Anglo-French.	Nth.F.	Northern French
Ca.	MS Cambridge	OE	Old English
Co.	MS Cotton	OF	Old French
L	MS Lansdowne	O.Germ.	Old German
M.L.Germ.	Middle Low German	ON	Old Norse
N.	Notes on the Texts	S	MS Sloane
	T	MS Thornton	

SELECT GLOSSARY

A

- A num.(adj.) bef. cons. one.TCa.56 T 135 TCa.L 307.
- A pron. he. L 81.
- A prep. on,in.L 368 oCo.262.
- Als adv. also. T 3 158 180 418 Co.398 L 57.
- Also adv. as. T 236.
- Andyrs see Endres.
- Asay . vb. attempt. L 189.
- Askryede pp.vb.Ascry fr.OF escrier proclaim.T 40.
- Atteynt vb. convict,condemn to death. T 188 ateynte Ca.L 188
ataynte Co.188.

B

- Badword sb. message. Ca.640 bodword S 640.
- Baide pa.t.vb. Bide wait for,await. L 238.
- Bale sb. misery,sorrow. TCa.S 335 Co.407.
- Balye sb. (a)the outer court of a castle (b)the district
under a bailie's jurisdiction. Ca.98.See N.
- Bent sb. heath. S 486 bent(t)is TCa.306 Ca.486.
- Berelle sb. beryl. T 58.
- Beryde pa.t.vb. Bery fr.ON berja strike,beat.T 31.
- Beryn(e) sb.fr.OE beorn warrior.T 351 427 507 540 bernes Co.507
532 bornes L 427 barne L 540.
- Bese pres.t.vb.Be,used as fut. shall be. T 40 295 473 beys
Ca.295.

Birdes	sb.pl. <u>young men</u> . S 427. See N.
Blyne	vb. <u>cease</u> . T 8.
Boure	sb. <u>woman's chamber</u> . TCa.Co.L 126.
Bown(e)	adj. <u>ready</u> . TLS 415 LS 519 Ca.Co.L 619 bone S 619.
Bredynge	vb. <u>hatching, brooding</u> . Co.182.
Brittened	pa.t.vb. Britten <u>cut up a boar or deer</u> . T 267 brytnand Ca.267.
Bro	sb. <u>hill-side</u> . Co.L 625 626 braye S 625 626.
Browke	vb. <u>possess, make use of</u> . TL 464 T 465 broke L 465 breake S 465.
Bryste	vb. <u>break, burst</u> . T 77.
Bus(e)	vb.impers. <u>it behoves me bus I must</u> . T 277 L 486.
Buske	vb.fr.ON búask <u>prepare</u> . TCa.Co.L 277.
Bygg(e)	vb.ON byggja <u>build, dwell</u> . T 302 TL 464 465 S 465 byggande T 182 biggy(ng) Ca.182.
Bygon(e)	pp.vb. Bego <u>surround, adorn</u> . TCa.60 Ca.70.
Byleue	vb. <u>dwell, remain behind</u> . T 22 Co.108.
Byrde	sb. <u>maiden</u> . TCa.L 126 berde Co.126.
Byteche	vb. <u>entrust, commit</u> . T 167 betече Ca.167 betake L 167

C

Cace	sb. <u>occurrence</u> . L 275.
Carefull	adj. <u>sorrowful</u> . T 535.
Carp(e)	vb.fr.ON karpa 'brag' <u>recite, sing</u> . TCa.Co.LS 313.
Chefe	sb. <u>the best, or highest part</u> . TCa.316 cheffe L 316 chief S 316.
Chere	sb. <u>face</u> . TCa.Co.L 281.
Chese	vb. <u>choose</u> . Ca.L 290 TCa.292 L 314 Ca.L 419 chece

	L119 chuse S 419 chosene T 419.
Cheuanteyne	sb.fr.OF chevetaine <u>chieftain</u> . L 469 470 481.
Chewys	pres.sg.vb.Cheve fr.OF chever <u>fare</u> . T 119 cheuyst Co.119. cheuede apheet.f.vb.Acheve <u>achieve</u> T 414.
Chose	sb.var.Choice <u>right of choosing</u> , <u>choice</u> . T 314.
Cloughe	sb. <u>valley</u> , <u>ravine</u> . T 496 clow L 496.
Compaste	pp.vb.Compass <u>surrounded with</u> . TCa.52 compasyd Co.52.
Copills	sb.fr.OF cople a <u>leash for holding two hounds together</u> . T 368 coupuls Ca.368 coples Co.368 cowples L 368 coupulles S 368.
Corounde	pp.vb.Coroun <u>crowned</u> T 699.
Coupill	vb. (a) <u>tie</u> Ca.374 (b) <u>fasten two hounds together in a leash couplede</u> T 250 coupuld Ca.250.
Couth	pa.t.vb.Can <u>could</u> . Ca.Co.698.
Crapotee	sb.fr.OF crapaud <u>toadstone</u> . T 52 crapote Ca.Co.L 52
Cropoure	sb. <u>crupper</u> . T 61 cropur Ca.61 croper Co.61.
Cropyng	sb.var.Cropoure. L 61.
Crystyenty	sb. <u>Christendom</u> . Co.115.
Curtase	adj. <u>courteous</u> T 226 curtes Ca.226 curtace L 226.
Curtassye	sb. <u>courtesy</u> . T 256 curtaysye T 686 curtasy Co.256.

D

Damasee	sb.corrupt.or abbrev.Damasene <u>damson</u> . T 180 damese Co.180 damyse L 180.
Defaute	sb. <u>misdeed</u> . L 252.
Degre	sb. <u>rank</u> . TCa.L 92 S 652. For S 552 see Gre.
Delle	vb. <u>deal</u> . T 126 dele Co.L 126.
Dere	vb. <u>harm</u> . TCa.Co.555 dare S 555.
Dern(e)	adj. <u>secret</u> , <u>solitary</u> , <u>wild</u> . Co.34 TCo.L 170.

Desese	?sb. <u>discomfort, trouble</u> . L 151.
Desse	sb. <u>dais</u> . T 231 deese Ca.231 dese Co.231 deyce L 231.
Devys(e)	sb. <u>will, desire</u> . T Ca.Co.96 deuyce L 96.
Discryuyd	pp.vb. Discry <u>ve</u> <u>described</u> . Co.40 descreued L 40.
Dongene	see Dyng.T 411.
Do way	imp. <u>cease, have done</u> . Ca.101.
Draw(e)	vb. <u>gather</u> . T Ca.S 428.
Drede, for owttyne	interj. <u>without doubt</u> . T 456 504.
Drye	vb. <u>undergo</u> . Ca.212.
Dryssynge knyfe	sb. <u>knife used in dressing food</u> . T 266 dressyng k. Ca.Co.L 266.
Duell(e)	vb. <u>remain, live</u> . T 106 192 287 322 L 490 dwel(1) Ca.126 Ca.Co.L 106 duellide T 273 dwellyd L 273.
Dullfull(e)	adj. <u>grievous</u> . T 138 502 delfull Ca.138 dulfull Co.138 dewelfull L 138 dolfull LS 502.
Duryd	pp.vb. Dure <u>undergone, endured</u> . Ca.204.
Dutey	adj. ? <u>doughty</u> . Ca.480.
Dwyn(e)	vb. <u>waste away, fade</u> . Ca.327 333.
Dyng(e)	vb. <u>overthrow</u> . Ca.638 LS 523 S 635 dongene T 411 donge S 411.
Dynt	sb. <u>stroke</u> . Co.L 412 LS 516 Ca.S 565.

E

Eghne	sb.pl. <u>eyes</u> . T 132 een Ca.132 646 674 eyn Co.132 646 yene L 132 eyen S 646 674.
Elde	sb. <u>old age</u> . S 328.
Eldryn(e)	adj. ? <u>elfin, old</u> . Ca.80 84 158 169 eldyrn Ca.694. See N.
Endres	adj. <u>recent</u> . T 25 andyrs Ca.25.

Enter messe Sb. lit. something served between courses. S 535 here fig., or scribal error for 'after messe.'

F

Faill of vb. miss. TL 435 faile S 435.

Falle vb. come to pass. T 329.

Fande ? pa.t.vb. Fand tried, tested. TCa.Co.257 foynd L 257.

Farde pa.t.vb. Fare acted. Ca.31.

Fawte sb. lack. TCo.176 fowte Ca.176 defawte L 176.

Fe(e) sb.(1)fr.OE feoh cattle. Wild fee: deer. TCa.L 95 S 458.

Fe(e) sb.(2)fr.AF fee, fie, payment, tribute. TCa.L290

Fele adj. many. Co.402 felle T 11.

Fell(e) adj. fierce. TCa.Co.LS 351 TCa.Co.S 507 et pass.

Fere, in adv.phr. in company. Ca.Co.LS 479. See N.

Ferly(e) sb. marvel, wonder. TCa.S 324 T 334 farl(e)y Ca.324 S 334. et pass.

Fers adj. fierce. T 351 507 L 249.

Ferthe num.(adj.) fourth. T 213 589.

Fethill sb. fiddle. T 257 fidul Ca.257 fedyl Co.257 fythell L 257.

Ffor owttynne prep. without. T 5 456.

Fforryours sb.pl. raiders, messengers. T 529.

Ffor thi conj. therefore. T 304.

Flode sb. water, river. TCa.Co.L 174.

Flon(e) sb. arrow. T 72 L 56 flonne Co.72.

Flynge vb. run, rush. TCo.S 541 flengbL 541.

Foche vb.var. Feche fetch. T 540.

Fode sb.fr.OE fōda man, person. Co.LS 441.

Fordo(o) vb. destroy, spoil. TCa.Co.L 104.

Forthere	adj. <u>more distant</u> . L 213
Fowarde	sb.var. <u>Forward vanguard</u> . L 501
Fre(e)	adj. <u>noble</u> . TCa.L 271 TS 575 S 650
Fresshe	adj. <u>fierce</u> . S 351. adv. <u>Freschely</u> T 352 508 fres(s)hely Ca.352 Ca.Co.508 freshly Co.352
Fro	adj. ON frár <u>?light, swift</u> . Ca.351
Fro	prep. ON frá <u>from</u> . Ca.Co.L 627 fraye S 627.
Fryk	adj. <u>strong, vigorous</u> . Co.507
Fryth(e)	sb. <u>wooded country</u> . TCa.LS 319
Fytt(e)	sb. <u>part(of a song or poem)</u> . TCa.307 S 487 fyt Co.487 foott L 307 fote L 487.

G

Gamen(e)	sb. <u>mirth, sport</u> . T 270
Gar(r)(e)	vb. ON gøra. <u>make, cause</u> . TCa.Co.S 378
Garthes	sb. Nth.f.of Gerthes <u>saddle-girths</u> . TCa.57 gyrthes Co.S 544 gerthis L 544.
Gent(e)	adj. <u>noble</u> . TCa.Co.L 255 T 489
Gentil(l)	adj. <u>noble</u> . Co.339 TCa.L 343 T 383 575 et pass.
Getterne	sb. OF guiterne. <u>cithern</u> . T 258 getern Ca.Co.258 gyterne L 259.
Glax	sb. <u>clay</u> . L 510 See N.
Glyde	vb. <u>go</u> . TS 475
Greaves	sb. OE græ fa. <u>thickets</u> . S 527
Gre(e)	sb. (1) <u>social rank</u> . Co.271 ((21) <u>victory in battle</u> . T 19 TCa.552 L 610 Ca.S 611
Grehundis	sb. <u>greyhounds</u> . T 249 367 grehoundis Ca.65 greue hwndes L 69

Gryking	vbl.sb. ?ON grýja, to dawn. <u>dawn</u> . Co.26
Grym	adj. <u>formidable</u> , <u>ugly</u> . L 143
Grysselle	adj. <u>roan</u> TS 382 grisell Ca.382 gresel Co.382
Zynge	adj.var. <u>Zonge</u> <u>young</u> . T 419

H

Haldis	vb.Nth.f.ofHoldes <u>proceed</u> , <u>go</u> . T 370 holdis Ca.370 holdes Co.L 370
Halse	sb. <u>neck</u> . T 71 halce Ca.71
Hend(e)	adj. <u>gentle</u> , <u>courteous</u> . TCa.Co.L 291 T 489
Herbere	sb. <u>garden</u> , <u>orchard</u> . TCa.177 erbore L 177
Hethyne	adv. ON heðan. <u>hence</u> . T 294
Hird mane	sb. <u>herdsman</u> . T 697
Hope	vb. <u>expect</u> , <u>think</u> . TCa.78 TS 454
Hye	sb.fr.OE hīgian. <u>haste</u> T 197
Hy(e)	vb.OE hīgian <u>hasten</u> . TCa.Co.L 279
Hyghte	vb.fr.OE heht pa.t.hātan <u>command</u> . T 193 hight Ca.193 hyzt Co.193 heght L 193
Hyng(e)	vb.var. <u>hang</u> . TCo.LS 543

I

Ilk(e)	adj. (i) OE ilca. <u>same</u> . TS 356 T 502 Co.430 S 500. (ii) OE ylce. <u>every</u> , <u>each</u> . T 414 ilka T 388 ylka T 229 Ca.622 ilk(e) a Ca.229
Intill	prep. <u>into</u> . T 177
Irale	sb. Orig.uncertain. <u>a precious stone</u> . T 61 See N.
Irk(e)	adj. Orig.uncertain. <u>weary</u> , <u>troubled</u> . TS 436 yrke Ca.Co.L 436

Irk(e)	adv. <u>wearisome</u> , <u>tedious</u> . TS 358 yrke Co.L 358
J	
Journey	sb. OF journee. <u>march</u> . T 503 Iorney L 503 iornaye S 503
K	
Kenne	vb.(trans.) OE cennan. <u>declare</u> , <u>acknowledge</u> . T 685
Kepe	vb.(trans.) <u>regard</u> , <u>desire</u> . TCa.Co.S 315
L	
Lede	sb. <u>lead</u> . TCo.L 136 leed Ca.136
Ledes	sb. OE leod. <u>people</u> . Co.612
Lede	vb.OE lādan. <u>direct</u> , <u>govern</u> . TCa.Co.L 420 leade S 420
Lefe-long	adj. <u>live-long</u> . Ca.127 leue lange Ca.270
Leishe	adj. ? <u>liege</u> . S 639. See N.
Lent	pp.vb.Lend OE lendan. <u> dwell</u> . Co.25
Lesse	sb. OF lesse. <u>leash</u> . T 367 leesshe Ca.367 leches Co.367 leyse L 367.
Lesynge	sb. <u>falsehood</u> . TL 318 leasyng S 318 651
Leuer	comp.adv.Lefe. <u>rather</u> . TCa.223
Lewe	vb. OE līefan. <u>believe</u> . L 292
Ley(e)	adj. ?OE *lāge. <u>fallow</u> , <u>unploughed</u> . TLS 455
Lire	sb. OE hlēor. <u>face</u> . Ca.68
Longyng(e)	sb. TCa.33. See Lōnyng
Lonyng	sb. OE lane, lone (wk.f.) <u>open ground</u> . L 33

Lutte	sb. <u>lute</u> . T 259 lut(e) Ca.Co.259
Lygge	vb. (1) OE licgan <u>lie</u> . TCo.202 206 214 ,et pass. (2) OE lecgan (trans.) <u>lay</u> . T 194
Lyght(e)	vb. <u>alight</u> . TS 573 list Ca.573. Pa.t.: lyghteT 121 light Ca.121 alyght L 121 lyghtyd Co.121
Lykes	vb.impers. OE līcian. <u>pleases</u> . T 125
Lymors	sb. AF limer. <u>leash-hounds</u> . Co.265

M

Make	sb..OE gemaca <u>mate</u> . Co.LS 448
Marr(e)	vb. OE merran. <u>harm,spoil</u> . TCa.Co.117 S 658 merrys T 127 marris Ca.127 marrest L 127 mare L 117 Co.658
Mawgre	prep. <u>in spite of</u> . Co.672 S 672 magrat Ca.672
Mavis	sb. <u>song-thrush</u> . Ca.30 mawys T 30 mawes Co.30
Mayn(e)	sb. OE mægen <u>power</u> . T 251 TL 279 TCo.LS 362 TLS 453 mone Ca.279
Maystries	sb. OF maistrise <u>deed of might</u> . T 590
Medill erth(e)	sb. OE middangeard. (<u>human</u>) world. T 160 mydul e. Ca.160 220 medyl e. Co.160 middylle L 160
Mekill	adj. OE mycel (a) <u>great,large</u> . T 291 TCa.335 mykell S 335 476. (b) used absol. <u>much</u> Ca.S 644
Mengyd(e)	pp.vb. Meng. <u>mingled</u> . TCo.L 380 myngyd Ca.380 mynged S 380
Menyd(e)	vb.pa.t. Mene. OE mæn nan. <u>complained,mourned</u> . TCa.30 menede L 30
Meruelle	sb. OF merveille <u>marvel</u> . T 5 261

Meryll	sb. OF merle <u>blackbird</u> . L 29
Mes(s)e	sb. OF mes <u>course of dishes</u> . TCa.Co.L 229
Mode	sb. OE mōd. (a) <u>pride, courage</u> . T 251 Ca.L 279 TCo.LS 362 et pass. (b) <u>heart, thought</u> . TCa.Co.LS 378
Molde	sb. (1) OE molde <u>earth</u> . Man of M. <u>mortal man</u> . TCa.Co.L 117. (2) ?OF modle. <u>shape</u> . L 42
Mone	sb. Ca. 279. See Mayne, and N.
Montenans	sb. corrupt.f.OF montande. <u>duration, amount</u> . T 173 monetaynis L 173
More	adj. OE more. <u>greater (in power or importance)</u> . TCo.L 423
Most(e)	adj. <u>greatest</u> . TCo. 261 maste T 5
Movyde	vb. pa. t. Move. <u>uttered</u> . Co. 30
Myn(e)	adj. ON minne. <u>less (in power or importance)</u> . Always coupled w. More. TCo.L 423
Myrke	adj. OE myrce. <u>dark</u> . T 171

N

Neb(b)(e)	sb. OE nebb. (a) <u>nose</u> . TCa.S 439. (b) <u>beak</u> TCa.Co.S 574
Non(e)	adv. <u>not at all</u> . T 160 TCa.Co.LS 315
Nowper	adj. OE nōwper <u>neither</u> . T 552 Ca. 556 noper Co.552
Nyhonde	adv. <u>nearly</u> . Ca.186

O

O	prep. <u>on</u> . Co.262
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- Orphare sb. OF orfreis rich embroidery. T 62. See N.
- Oryoles sb. Orig.obs. var. Orielles precious stones. L 53
See N.
- Ost(e) sb. host. TL 528 Co.535
- Owt(t)ray(e) sb. var. Owtrage pillage. TS 452 Co.S 636 outray
L 452

P

- Papeloyes sb. OF papegai. parrots. T 183 popyniay Ca.183
popyngay L 183.
- Parrell sb. aphet.f. Apparel. clothing. L 62
- Pay(e) sb. OF paie payment. TLS 459
- Paye vb. OF payer please. T 199
- Payetrelle sb. AF peitrel a piece of armour to protect the
breast of a horse;a breast collar. T 61 paytrell
Ca.61 paytrel Co.61 67.
- Payrelde pp.vb. arrayed,adorned. T 94 pareld(e) TCa.97
parellid Ca.94 perlyd L 94 perled L 97
- Perelle sb. pearl. T 60 pereles L 44
- Perry sb. OF pierrie jewellery. Ca.60
- Pray(e) sb. prey. TCa.L 303 S 354 LS 386 498 TCo.LS 435
- Presse sb. F presse throng. T 533
- Presse vb. OF presser. (a) advance,assail. Ca.LS 533
(b) strive. pressede T 185 presed Ca.185 presyd
L 185
- Preysse vb. OF preuver,var.prover. proves,comes. Ca.669
- Pristly adv. OF prest+ly. quickly,earnestly. T 7

- Prysse sb. the highest place. T 94 prysee T 97 pryce L 94
T 686 price Ca.94 Ca.L 97 S 686 prise Co.533
- Pynnene sb. var. of, or scribal error for Pyne pine. L 181

Q

- Quarry sb. OF cuirée, curée, 'skin'. a collection of the deer killed in a hunt. Co.263

R

- Raches sb. OE ræcc. hunting-dogs which pursued by scent.
T 70 L 96 T 250 368 et pass. ryches L 58 richys
L 70 ratchettes S 368
- Rathely adv. OE hrade swiftly. T 81 radly Ca.81 rathly
Co.81 raythly L 81
- Recomme vb. Orig.obs., no parallels. return. S 680
- Rede vb. advise. TCa.Co.L 296
- Redy adj. direct, near. TCo.LS 392
- Relygyous sb. persons in holy orders. T 474 relegious Co.474
religous L 474
- Rerewarde sb. rearguard. T 501 reareward S 501
- Reyke vb. OE racian. roam. Ca.375. See N.
- Roelle bone sb. AF roal. ivory. T 49 reuyll b. Ca.49 rewel b.
Co.49 ryall b. L 49. See N.
- Rybybe sb. OF rubebe. a musical instrument; the rebeck.
T 259 ribybe Ca.259 rybib Co.259 rybbe L 259
- Rysse sb. OE hrīs. brushwood, boughs. T 206 rise Ca.206
rese Co.206 ryce L 206

S

Saghe	pret.vb.See. <u>saw</u> . T 42 se Ca.42 say Co.46
Sawtrye	sb. <u>psaltery</u> . T 258 sautry Ca.258 sawtery Co.L 258
Schilde	vb. OE scioldan. <u>forbid</u> (lit. <u>shield</u>). T 371 shelde Co.371 shild S 371
Schoure	sb. OE scūr. <u>battle</u> . L 472
Scryed	pp.vb. Scry,aphet.f. Descry. <u>described</u> . Ca.40
Sege	sb. OF sege <u>seat</u> (here: <u>saddle</u>). L 49
Sekirlye	adv. OE sicerlice <u>without doubt,certainly</u> . T 103 679 securly Ca.103 sekerelye L 103 sykerly S 680
Selle	sb. <u>saddle</u> . T 49
Semble	sb. AF semble <u>conflict,gathering</u> . L 529
Sem(e)ly	adj. ON sǫmiligr. <u>fine</u> . TL 33 TCa.Co.50 TCa.74 sembly L 74
Sendell	sb. OF cendal <u>a silk material</u> . Co.60
Sere	adj. ON sér. <u>sundry,various</u> . T 11
Sese (into)	vb. <u>take,capture</u> . Co.643 sesyd Co.444
Seue	adj. <u>seven</u> . L 70 539
Shawe	sb. OE sceaga <u>Thicket,copse</u> . L 58 shawys L 32
Shere	vb. <u>gnaw</u> . Co.368
Sike	adj.reduced f.Swilk. <u>such</u> . Ca.42
Skylle	sb. ON skil. <u>reason</u> . TCa.288 skele Co.L 288
Slyke	adj. ?smooth. S 478
Snapre	vb. = O.Germ. schnappen. <u>stumble,fall</u> . L 381
Solace	sb. <u>pleasure,entertainment</u> . T 273
Spede	vb. <u>succeed</u> . TLS 454
Spell(e)	vb. OE spellian <u>discourse</u> . T 317 S 623 spill Ca.317

Spray(e)	sb. Gael. spreidh <u>booty,plunder</u> . TCa.354 Ca.362 TCa.386 T 498. See N.
Spray(e)	vb. rare,orig.obs. <u>rise</u> . TCa.S 335. See N.
Spyll(e)	vb. OE spillan. (a) trans. <u>destroy</u> . TCo.L 120 spille Ca.120. (b) intrans. <u>perish</u> . Co.176.
Sted(e)	sb. <u>place</u> . TCa.Co.L 129 134 stode Ca.233.
Stiff	adj. <u>stalwart</u> . Ca.525 styf(e) Co.525 560 L 264.
Stifly	adv. <u>resolutely,grimly</u> . Ca.51 stefly T 51
Store	adj. ON stórr <u>great</u> . TCa.L 264
Stowte	adj. OF estout. <u>fierce,terrible</u> . L 143
Stroye	vb.aphet.f.Destroye <u>lay waste</u> . TLS 397
Swoghyng	vbl.sb. fr.OE swōgan. <u>rushing,roaring</u> . T 174 swowyng Co.174 swoyng L 174
Swylke	adj. <u>such</u> . T 46 90 swilke T 698
Syene	adv. OE sibban <u>afterwards</u> . T 6 457 475 L 104
Sythene	adv. OE sibban. <u>ago</u> . T 16
Sythis	sb.pl. OE sið. <u>times</u> . TL 124
Sytoll	sb. <u>citole</u> . L 258

T

Tary(e)	vb. trans. orig.obs. <u>delay,detain</u> . TCa.S 366. See N.
Tene	sb. OE teōna. (a) <u>trouble,grief</u> . T 211 (b) <u>anger</u> Co.614.
Tente	sb.aphet.fr.OF atente. <u>heed,care</u> . T 2
Tercelet	sb. AF tercelet. <u>male hawk,esp.peregrine falcon</u> <u>and goshawk</u> . T 391 393 463 et pass. tarslet LS 391
Teyryd	? pp.vb.Teyry=Tary. <u>hindered,impeded</u> . Ca.437. See N.

The(e)	vb. <u>prosper</u> . TCa.LS 344 Ca.S 666
Thender	adj. = be yender <u>yonder</u> . L 25 <u>pendyr</u> L 225
Thethyne	adv. ON bepan <u>thence</u> . T 439
Thir	adj. orig.obs. <u>these</u> . T 12 306 348 415
Till(e)	prep. ON til <u>to</u> . TCa.172 Ca.695
Togged	pp.vb.Tog,Tag <u>?followed closely</u> . L 437 taggud S 437. See N.
Tober	pron.and adj. <u>other</u> . Ca.135 TCa.528 <u>toder</u> Ca.481
Traye	sb. OE trega <u>pain,affliction</u> . Usually coupled w. Tene. T 211
Trayed	pp.vb.Tray,OF trair. <u>betrayed</u> . Ca.295
Treglyd	past.vb.Treble,OF trebler,'make a shrill sound'. <u>shrilled</u> . L 57
Trew(e)	sb. <u>truce</u> . TCo.553
Triste	vb. <u>believe</u> . T 580
Twelmoneth	sb. <u>year</u> . T 159 twelmond Ca.159
Tyte	adv. ON titt 'often'. <u>quickly</u> . T 15 Co.177

U

Unthrive	vb. <u>fail to thrive</u> . S 344
Untill	prep. <u>unto</u> . T 220
Unto	prep. <u>until</u> . T 544 546

W

Wallyng	vb. <u>wallowing,tossing</u> . Co.538
Wankill	adj. OE wancol <u>insecure,changeable</u> . Ca.494
Ware	imper.vb. <u>be</u> . L 99

Warisoun	sb. OF warison <u>reward</u> . L 411 warysoun Co.515 waryson(e) LS 515
Weite	vb. <u>know</u> . T 501 wete T 355 wiete T 572 547 wit(t) LS 501
Weld(e)	vb. <u>rule</u> . TCa.S 346
Wend(e)	vb. <u>go</u> . TCa.L 305 TCa.Co.LS 309 et pass. wending vbl.sb. <u>going</u> . Co.649 wyndinge S 649
Wenes	vb. <u>thinks</u> . L 454 Wende <u>past.vb. thought</u> . L 144
Were	vb. ?OE werian <u>defend, maintain</u> . L 38
Werre	sb.Nth.F. werre <u>war</u> . T 416 577 581 585
Werre	adj.and adv. ON verre. <u>worse</u> . T 20 119 war(r)(e) Ca.Co.L 119 Ca.Co.661
Wethy	sb. OE wīpig <u>willow</u> . Co.477
Whatkyns	adj. <u>what kind of</u> . TCo.LS 341
Whelys bone	sb. <u>ivory</u> . L 235
Wighte	sb. <u>man</u> . T 547 wyzt Ca.607
Withwell	sb. ? <u>willow-well</u> . S 478
Wode	adj. <u>mad</u> . TCa.Co.L 267
Wod(e)wale	sb. = M.L.Germ.wedewale. <u>oriole, woodpecker</u> . TCa.Co.L 31. See N.
Woghe	sb. <u>evil, wrong</u> . T 494 wow L 494 wough S 494
Won,in	phr. ? <u>according to custom, in possession</u> . Ca.483
Wonden	pp.vb.Wond. <u>wounded</u> . S 550
Wondir	adv. <u>very</u> . T 436 Co.494
Wondrethe	sb. ON vandræþi. <u>misery, hardship</u> . T 494 wondrand L 494
Worble	vb. <u>celebrate in verse</u> . L 38
Worldely	adv. ? <u>with pomp</u> . L 253. See N.

Wordly	adj. <u>earthly</u> . Ca.667
Worthe	vb. <u>become</u> . T 492
Woxe	pret.vb.Wax. <u>grew</u> . L 143
Wreth	sb. OE wræpu. <u>injury</u> , <u>harm</u> . Co.497
Wro(o)	sb. ON wrá. <u>corner</u> . Ca.625 626
Wrobbe	vb. <u>?speak of, twist</u> . T 38 wrabbe Co.38. See N.
Wryche	vb. <u>work</u> . L 166
Wrye	vb. OE wrīgian. <u>twist</u> . TCo.38. See N.
Wryede	pp.vb.Wry var.Wray. <u>betrayed</u> . Co.116
Wylsom	adj. ON villusamr 'false'. <u>wild</u> , <u>lonely</u> . Co.384
Wyneberye	sb. <u>bilberry</u> . T 181
Wytes	vb. OE wītan <u>vanishes</u> . T 327 333

Y

Ye	sb. <u>eye</u> . L 322
Yrons	sb. var.Erne OE earn. <u>eagle's</u> . Ca.303. See N.

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